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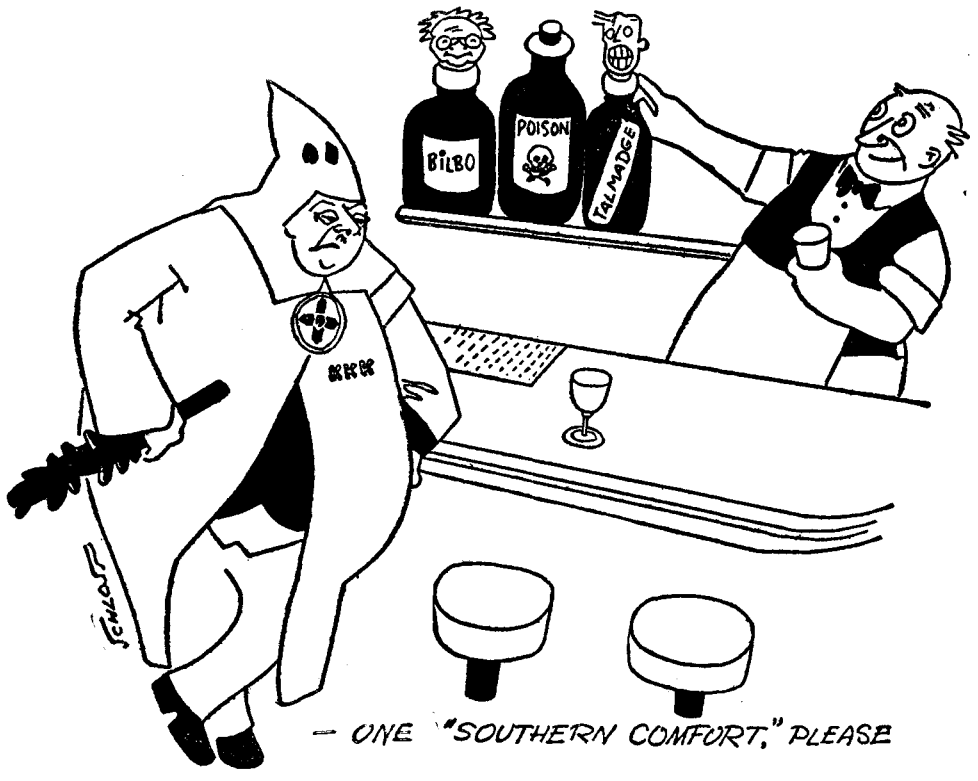

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by H. William Fitelson

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by Walton Hamilton and Thurman Arnold

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The New Republic

REPORT ON

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

by BOGDAN RADITSA

What are conditions in Yugoslavia today? Have the democratic hopes of the Yugoslav people been realized? How free are the press and the people to criticize Tito's government? Who opposes the regime, and why, and what happens to them?

These and other questions are answered in an important series of articles coming soon in the *New Republic*. The author, Bogdan Raditsa, is a Yugoslav by birth, a former member of the Royal Yugoslav Government, who was in the United States when Tito came to power. Full of enthusiasm for the promise the new Tito government seemed to hold out, he returned to his native country to serve it in whatever capacity he could. After an extended stay, he reluctantly decided he could no longer continue to support the present regime, and returned to the United States. His articles will throw a flashlight on one of the least known countries in Europe today.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 115, NO. 9 NEW YORK MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1946 NUMBER 1657

The Yugoslav "Incident"

THE ACTION of the Yugoslavs in shooting down American planes was an unforgivable resort to force, whatever legal justification they may have thought they had. The United States acted properly in protesting in the strongest possible terms, and Marshal Tito's hasty yielding to our ultimatum, and his promise there would be no repetition, seem to indicate that he realized his moral position was weak.

It must be recognized that in most aspects, the Yugoslav affair is merely part of the larger issue of United States-Soviet relations. There will probably be more such incidents, if not in Yugoslavia then elsewhere, unless we and the Russians are able to get on a decent footing. Out of Paris comes news of a Yugoslav complaint that we are holding on the Danube ships and barges that belong to them. The Ukrainians have complained to the Security Council that the Anglo-American-supported Greek government is a menace to peace. And so on.

It is unfortunate that specific issues become obscured in angry emotions which make it impossible for either side to act fairly. That is the way wars start, and nowhere has it been more evident than in the American press. While the *Daily Worker* screamed that the Yugoslav matter was all a State Department plot, the New York *Times* hinted broadly it was a Soviet plot.

Beyond the fact that the Yugoslav action was unforgivable, there is the painful realization that the dispute between this country and Yugoslavia had gone on longer, had been more bitter and was more important in its implications than most Americans were permitted to realize. Yugoslavia had protested many times—just how many, no one seems to know—over a period of about three months. The State Department, as early as May 20, referred to these complaints as exaggerated and brushed aside as "frivolous" a Yugoslav hint that the question might be put before the Security Council.

The United Press, from Paris, reported Secretary Byrnes as being ready to accept failure of the peace conference, if necessary, to win an American showdown on Yugoslavia. Similar grim warnings were put out at the State Department in Washington. This sort of talk, even with Yugoslavia completely in the wrong, seems incendiary. The saving factor in the whole incident was that the State Department made no threat of unilateral punitive violence but announced it would take the matter to the Security Council. The fight there might have been nasty; but if the Council is to function and the United Nations is to be preserved, that is the sort of chance that must be taken. If we want peace, we must act as though we wanted peace, not in one place, but everywhere. And surely no responsible American of any party wants anything else.

Danger in China

THE "declaration of war" by the Chinese Communists against the Central Government which was headlined in last week's press has now been deflated to its proper size. The mobilization of the people of Northern China is apparently just another move, though a significant one, in the Chinese chess game in which military and diplomatic moves are intermingled. Even if fighting takes place on a much greater scale than now, political negotiations may very well continue in Nanking.

But it has become obvious that our China policy has failed, despite the honest efforts of General Marshall to bring the two sides together. The danger of large-scale war is increasing, not decreasing. There are several courses open to us. We can give the whole thing up as a bad job, and leave the Chinese to fight it out among themselves. But it is very doubtful whether simply withdrawing and leaving a vacuum would bring peace to China. Or we could give all-out aid to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, thereby encouraging him to wage open war against the Communists, as advocated by the Russophobes. Fortunately, the State Department has made it very clear that it has no intention of following this latter course.

Nor can we afford to share responsibility for chaos in China by merely continuing our present ineffective policy of watchful waiting and wishful thinking. Our efforts to bring the sides together must be intensified. President Truman's statement of December 15, setting

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unification as the price of American financial aid to China, was sound enough, if it had been vigorously followed. It is true that no significant military aid has been given to the Central Government since General Marshall went to China, save for transporting troops to Manchuria, which the Communists agreed to. But Kuomintang leaders live in the hope that our deepening split with Russia will lead to war and force us to utilize their willing services in a crusade against communism.

What we need now is a reaffirmation and a tightened application of the December 15 policy statement. We need an absolute embargo on further aid from the $500 million fund set aside for China by the Export-Import Bank. We should get the remainder of our Marines out of China at the earliest possible moment to avoid charges of intervention. But the most effective move of all would be to arrange with the Soviet Union for a joint declaration opposing civil war and guaranteeing non-intervention. This would discourage Kuomintang leaders from playing their deadly game of stirring up conflict between the United States and Russia.

If these steps fail and our aim of a genuine coalition government and simultaneous unification of China's armed forces is not achieved, we believe that General Marshall owes the American people a full and open account of the negotiations showing exactly why they failed. On the basis of this information, we may be able to assess the blame and chart a more effective course.

Crum on Palestine

Bartley C. Crum, a California attorney who was a member of the Joint Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine, a few days ago made a statement on that issue which deserves to be taken seriously. He identified British Labor Government policy on Palestine with nineteenth-century imperialism, finding the stable core of British policy in an alliance with the reactionary semi-feudal groups in control of the Arab states. He saw the unifying force in that alliance in the common desire to keep Russia out of the Middle East, and the belief that a powerful Jewish community in Palestine is incompatible with such a policy. Crum believes the only hope for a reversal of the British attitude is pressure from the United States, since every British government considers continued coöperation with us essential.

Crum thinks that State Department officials such as Loy Henderson are responsible for frustrating the Palestine policy of successive occupants of the White House. There are many men in the State Department with whom we are not in sympathy, and Mr. Henderson is one of them; but this explanation is far too simple. Our Presidents have undoubtedly been guilty of playing Palestine politics in terms of Jewish votes in domestic political campaigns. They have, that is to say, promised American Jews things they were not prepared to force on the British with maximum pressure. Until some American administration makes up its mind which way it intends to go, and sticks to its policy regardless, this divided attitude will continue to work great harm. It seems to us obvious that a real Palestinian policy must be based on the recognition of Jewish rights in Palestine as well as those of the Arabs, for whom the British, actuated by imperial policy, are so concerned.

UN Membership Dispute

A basic question has been raised by the dispute in the Security Council over approving nine candidates for membership in the United Nations: Is the UN to be a worldwide organization, or an exclusive club in which any major power can blackball all newcomers?

Instead of taking the broad view, the permanent members of the Security Council—notably the Soviet Union and Great Britain—have been playing power politics by threatening to veto the applications of each other's protégés. Britain started the fight by questioning the eligibility of Outer Mongolia and Albania, the Soviet-sponsored candidates. The Soviet representative retaliated by blackballing Great Britain's favorite entries—Transjordan, Eire, Portugal and (along with the French representative) Siam. That left only three relatively unsullied candidates—Afghanistan, Iceland and Sweden.

None of the nine applicants are above criticism, save possibly Iceland. If "dependency" had been considered a valid ground for excluding nations from the San Francisco Conference, the United Nations would be much smaller than it is today. The sovereign independence of India, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and the Philippines would certainly have been called into question, to say nothing of that of the Byelo-Russian and Ukrainian Republics.

The United Nations is not a congregation of the pure in heart, and it may be too late to make it so. The raising of too many obstacles to membership would discourage new applicants. As the Netherlands representative on the Security Council, Dr. van Kleffens, said last week, once a country adheres to the Charter it is morally bound to settle all disputes peaceably, and that is an advantage. The American delegation should act to end the diplomatic horseplay in the Security Council and take the lead toward the goal of universal membership in the United Nations.

Railroad Excess Charges

In one of his first acts since he became Budget Director, James E. Webb has written to Senator Glen Taylor (D, Idaho) that he is withholding action to recover from the railroads excessive charges which the Budget Bureau has reported were levied against the

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government for wartime freight until he has studied the situation further.

Webb said he wanted to find out how much in taxes would have to be refunded to the railroads, if the government got large reparation awards from them, and also the effect such payments to the government would have on "the financial condition of the railroads." He expressed the opinion that they would "seriously affect the financial condition of the carriers because they are faced with a reduced volume of traffic, increased wage costs and higher material prices."

Senator Taylor made public Webb's letter, with a hot reply in which he said he was "shocked by the extreme solicitude with which you are handling the railroad corporations in spite of the convincing proof that 'extensive reparations' are in order." He told Webb that "this maternal tenderness strains the powers of your office" and said that "if you find that overcharges have in fact been made (as the Budget Bureau already has reported) your plain and only duty is to turn them over to the Justice Department."

Taylor was particularly critical of Webb's fear that collection of the excessive charges would harm the railroads' financial position. Contending that if a subsidy was required for the roads, it should be awarded openly and "not through a back door," Taylor said:

> In effect, you state that the government should not sue to recover its due because the railroads need the money. This amazing philosophy would, if extended, result in a complete breakdown of all law enforcement. Does a similar logic prevent suit against less highly placed individuals? Or would the little fellow who took government property to satisfy his family's needs feel the full weight of the federal government's power?

Shaky Wage Ceilings

Despite record-breaking profits and the higher cost of living, the government was holding tight to the wage ceiling established in February, long before the present precipitate jump in living costs.

After a meeting of the Wage Stabilization Board with Reconversion Director John R. Steelman last week, it was reported that the Administration had decided to make no change in the present ceiling, at least until the price situation was "clarified."

A division of opinion within the Wage Board was reported, but the agency was controlled by executive order from President Truman and was powerless to change the policy without a new directive from the President.

How long the Administration could continue to hold to this policy was a serious question. The WSB itself had warned, prior to the decision of the Decontrol Board on food ceilings, that unless prices of foods, including milk, butter and meats, were recontrolled and rolled back, the wage problem could not be met.

After the Decontrol Board decided to lift the ceilings on dairy products and grains, the CIO quickly demanded a revision of the wage ceiling, asserting it could not participate in a stabilization program which controlled wages but permitted prices to skyrocket. The AFL was also demanding relaxation of the wage ceiling on the same ground. Both groups are represented on the WSB.

Three big CIO unions—the Auto Workers, the Rubber Workers and the Oil Workers—already were preparing wage-increase demands to be pushed if prices were not rolled back. Many other unions were expected to follow suit.

Meanwhile, in an effort to protect profits at the expense of labor, the National Association of Manufacturers continued to blame labor, rather than industry, for inflation. Ira Mosher, chairman of the NAM board, said inflation was not caused by unjustified jumps in selling prices, but by government spending and strikes.

A Program for GI Housing

Housing Administrator Wilson Wyatt admitted last week that a transfusion of new materials from the Civilian Production Administration is the only possible way to save the veterans' housing program. By taking over control of CPA priority regulations, Wyatt can crack down on commercial building, require that manufacturers set aside more materials for housing use only and increase the list of building materials already subject to housing priority control. Here are some of the changes necessary if the construction goal of 838,000 permanent homes is to be reached by the end of this year:

1. The loophole in the CPA set-aside system should be plugged. For example, veterans with priorities could apply for door locks during the first 21 days of the month. Then on the 22nd day, the supply would be sold to non-residential builders.

2. Further limitations must be placed on non-residential building. Wyatt proposes to cut the construction of stores, factories and other commercial building by around 30 percent below present levels. Civilian Production Administrator Small has hinted that he will resign if Wyatt's plans are carried out.

3. Complete control over distribution of new materials. The NHA has had little benefit from the increased production of building materials because most of the added volume goes into non-residential structures started months before present limitations became fully effective.

4. Revision of the price-line requirements on new homes. Although about 50 percent of new homes are started below "dividing-line prices," in almost every instance the builder applies for a higher ceiling later. This would be more difficult if new dividing lines are set up, for NHA officials point out that they will be based on actual construction costs of a medium-standard

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home in each area which is covered by the FHA.

Wyatt can expect complaints from commercial builders over this large-scale concentration of materials on housing, but no more than he has had from veterans who have spent a good part of their return to civilian life looking for a place to live.

Milk Rides the Bandwagon

Several days after the Price Decontrol Board decided not to reimpose ceilings on dairy products, the New York *Times*, August 23, page 16, carried a story which began, "The Milk Industry Foundation, hailing the removal of milk from price controls, said yesterday that distributors' costs had increased greatly in the last four years and asked for 'consumer coöperation and understanding.'"

Page 27 of the same issue of the *Times* carried a story which ran, "Net earnings of the National Dairy Products Corporation in the six months ended on June 30, last, were $11,802,554 after taxes and all charges, compared with $6,977,276 in the corresponding period a year ago. . . ."

Uneasy Price Policy

As a result of the Price Decontrol Board's decision this week, the prices of meats, shortenings and vegetable oils will be partly rolled back. The importance of this action is great, both to the consumer and to the general economy.

Meats make up about 19 percent of the food bill of the average family, and fats and oils another four percent. That is nearly one-fourth of the average family's outlay for food. Any reductions in the prices of these necessary foods will help substantially in making the pay check stretch as far as possible.

Until the board acted there were no controls on meat, shortenings, oils or salad dressings. During the "free market" that prevailed after the OPA's former controls lapsed on June 30, meat prices had soared 30 to 85 percent, and fats and oils 40 to 107 percent. Their wild behavior was a big factor in the skyrocketing of the cost-of-living indices. Now some of the inflation will be squeezed out.

The board refused to restore price ceilings on dairy products and grains. Although it acknowledged that the supply of dairy products would fall short of demand, it concluded that prices had not risen "unreasonably" above the former ceilings plus subsidy, and that it therefore could not legally put back price control.

From the consumer's standpoint, it matters little that two cents of the average three-cent increase in the price of a quart of milk resulted from loss of subsidy. Milk costs three cents a quart more. Nor is it any comfort that the increase in butter just about equaled the former subsidy. Dairy prices jumped 21.2 percent from mid-June to mid-July, making a serious dent in low-income budgets.

There are many qualms about the board's action in freeing grains from all controls, but it probably was inevitable. With the Department of Agriculture forecasting an all-time record crop and announcing that the United States would be able to increase its shipments for foreign relief as well as meet all domestic requirements, and with wheat and corn selling in the futures markets for less than the former ceilings, there was little else the board could do.

But if the country uses wheat at the rate that now seems likely, the carry-over will be uncomfortably low. A bad harvest next year could result in a grave shortage. A more immediate danger is that the price of grains will not drop as much as forecasters predict. That would mean higher feed costs and a demand

WHO IS RAISING PRICES?

A few of the many commodities which have gone up in price since the OPA resumed operations are listed below. In every case the increases were forced by specific provisions of the Price Control Act recently passed by Congress. The authors of the price-raising amendments are listed in the final column. These congressmen, and their fellow members who voted for the amendments they sponsored—not Paul Porter and the OPA—are raising your prices.

Commodity	*Increase*	*Amendment*
Coal	anthracite 30c ton	
	bituminous 18c ton	Wherry (R, Nebr.)
Electric ranges	9 percent	Wherry
Electric irons, toasters, shavers	4 percent	Wherry
Vacuum cleaners	7 percent	Wherry
Washing machines	7 percent	Wherry
Aluminum cooking utensils	5 percent	Wherry
Automobiles	7.3 percent	Crawford (R, Mich.)
Cotton apparel	6 to 8 percent	Brown (D, Ga.)
Farm machinery	6 percent	Fulbright (D, Ark.)

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from the cattle-feeders for higher prices for their livestock. Under the new Price Control Act the OPA would then have no choice but to raise meat prices.

If the board's action could stand alone, isolated from the rest of the price-stabilization problem, it might be argued that the gains from the recontrol of meats and oils would more than offset the damage done by the removal of controls on dairy products and grains. But the whole picture must be considered. Under the new Price Control Act, the OPA must end price control on all items not essential to the cost of living by January 1. The agency also must wipe out controls on any other product when supply exceeds demand. The result will be a procession of products coming out from under price control, and rising prices.

Under the whiplash of the Wherry, Taft, Bankhead, and other amendments, a whole succession of exorbitant price rises are being made. Furthermore, the Secretary of Agriculture has the power to end price control on any agricultural product he believes is not in short supply, and he can order prices raised whenever he thinks a boost is necessary to "stimulate" production. Already this overriding power is causing trouble. There are reports that he is insisting upon a smaller rollback of prices than the OPA wants.

Paul Porter is anxious to get the prices of meats and other recontrolled products as close to the June 30 levels as possible. The elimination of the subsidy on feeds will make it impossible to get prices all the way back. The prices which Secretary Anderson is reported to advocate would legalize a large part of the June and July price inflation. The Secretary can reinforce his pricing ideas with the threat of a later price increase to stimulate production. Major differences on price policy could be carried to the President. On minor items, though, Mr. Anderson will call the tune.

That is why the board's action offers little assurance that the current cost of living can be reduced. It should be noted that the board is not to blame for all of this. Within the limits marked out for them, the three members—Roy L. Thompson, Daniel W. Bell and George H. Mead—did a conscientious, efficient and even courageous job. However, they could have tipped the scales more in favor of stabilization if they had recontrolled dairy prices, or if they do so at the first sign of a renewed spurt.

With the price situation what it is, there is little hope that prices will be rolled back enough under the board's directive to balance the other price increases. Even if this slim hope were realized, prices would stabilize at about the July level—an outrageously high one, 5.8 percent higher than the preceding month and 9 percent above 1945. It severely squeezes labor and all who live on fixed incomes and is probably a price level that organized labor cannot accept. The outlook remains an uneasy one.

More Thoughts on Labor

"THOUGHTS ON LABOR," the article on page 252 of this issue, by Walton Hamilton and Thurman Arnold, rightly stresses labor's stake, not merely in higher wages, but in full and steady employment, stationary prices and increased production. The national labor movements are well aware of the importance of these things: they have been fighting hard for congressional action for a full-employment policy, effective price control and basic economic conditions for permanent prosperity.

Opponents of organized labor often oppose or ignore such political activities and assume that the unions want only to restrict output and raise prices. Labor is blamed for stopping production by strikes which in fact are caused by failure of employers to assent to progressive price-wage policies, without which depression and unemployment are inevitable. Strikes do temporarily hamper production, but it would fall anyhow if total wage income lagged behind prices.

Anti-unionists always cite make-work rules and opposition to technical improvements as if these were the chief activities of unions and were practically universal. In fact, they are not typical; they arise from workers' insecurity in special situations, and their effect on production is tiny compared with the results of monopoly and especially with the bungling of the economy which creates depressions and loses billions in earnings and productivity. Hamilton and Arnold point out correctly that labor is not solely or even mainly responsible for restrictive union rules and that business restrictions are far more important. They might have added that in most industries, unions have no make-work rules and favor technical advance. The authors feel that voluntary action by the unions is unlikely to abolish undesirable practices, and that governmental compulsion is necessary.

Good anti-trust laws and enforcement are desirable; but we do not believe that such action alone can solve the basic problems of the economy. Moreover, with the present influence of great concentrations of financial and industrial power, it seems certain that such laws would be enforced sparingly against business and vigorously and unfairly against labor.

The way out, we feel, is through better planning and management of the economy. If the flow of purchasing power can be maintained steadily at a level high enough to justify full production, we shall have the essential condition for making sure that that production occurs. In some fields competition may suffice; in others, other methods will be needed. If labor is assured of steady work at good wages, it won't be necessary to threaten unions with fines or jail sentences to end restrictive practices, the very purpose of which is to protect employment and earning power.

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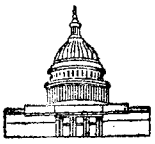

Washington Wire—To Overrule the Mob

THE RECENT WAVE of mob violence, particularly in the South, has raised again the old question of what the federal government can do to protect the civil rights of its citizens. Today the most important defenders of the civil rights of the people are the states. They have far greater power than the federal government, which is chiefly limited (by the Bill of Rights) in what it may do. The question is what can the federal government do when the states fail to act when they should.

Just before he left for Europe, Attorney General Tom C. Clark announced that when Congress convenes in January he will ask for legislation to strengthen the civil-liberties statutes. The Attorney General did not say what kind of legislation he would recommend, but for several months he has had lawyers in the criminal division of the Department of Justice studying the question and trying to draft a bill that would give the federal government some power to put down mob action. These lawyers have not gotten very far toward solving the perplexing yet basic problem of what the federal government can do without taking over the police functions of the 48 states.

Lately the Justice Department has been flooded with demands that it do something about the lynchings in Georgia and Mississippi. But it has virtually no authority to act. Murder has been committed, but the federal government can intervene only if it can show that a state official aided or conspired to aid the mob.

Every year the Department of Justice receives thousands of complaints regarding alleged violations of civil liberties. The overwhelming majority of the complaints do not involve the federal government. There are two civil-liberties statutes, both of which date to 1870. Under these statutes if two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress or threaten a citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege "secured to him by the Constitution or Laws of the United States," then they are guilty of violating a federal law. But there is no federal law—outside of federal districts—against lynching, no federal law against murder, no federal law against the KKK.

The Bill of Rights amendments are limitations against oppressive action by the federal government, while the Fourteenth Amendment is a limitation against oppressive action by the states. But mob violence seldom involves either the federal government or the states. It involves individuals. They are guilty of violating police laws of the state.

In 1939, Attorney General Frank Murphy established the Civil Liberties Unit in the Department of Justice. At that time, he explained the helplessness of federal authorities: "It must be borne in mind that the authority of the federal government in this field is somewhat limited by the fact that many of the constitutional guarantees are guarantees against abuses by the federal government itself, or by the state governments, and are not guarantees against infringement by individuals or groups of individuals."

Much has been said and written about "purges" in the Democratic Party. But there also have been "purges" in the GOP. Last week in New York, for example, the GOP "purged" Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin because he failed to follow the reactionary party leadership in the House. It "purged" Representative Augustus Bennet, who two years ago defeated isolationist Ham Fish.

There may be arguments over whether the country is going conservative or liberal. But there is no doubt that the Republican Party is getting more conservative. In Nebraska's Republican primary, Senator Hugh Butler, an isolationist old guard, easily defeated Governor Dwight Griswold, a Republican progressive. In Wisconsin's Republican primary, the old-guard candidate defeated Senator Robert M. La Follette Jr. In the Indiana Republican convention, Representative Charles M. La Follette got nowhere in his bid for the senatorial nomination. In Illinois, the Republicans finally made it official and openly embraced Colonel Robert R. McCormick as their spiritual leader.

Progressive Republicans have won only in California, under Governor Earl Warren's banner, and in Minnesota, where Governor Thye defeated Senator Henrik Shipstead for the senatorial nomination.

Justice Department officials contend that they are going ahead at full speed on anti-trust violations. Attorney General Clark has been criticized for allegedly slowing down the work of Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge, who is in charge of anti-trust. The Justice Department lawyers say that there have been two differences between Clarke and Berge: first, whether the government-owned Geneva Steel plant should have been sold to U. S. Steel and, second, whether the anti-trust action against New York banks and insurance companies should have been a civil complaint or a criminal indictment. Clark approved the sale of Geneva over Berge's objections and insisted on a civil suit against the New York banks charged with conspiring to fix interest rates on mortgages. Otherwise, according to Justice officials, there has been complete support by Clark of the Anti-Trust Division. More cases are being prosecuted than in many years. Fifteen civil complaints and five indictments have been instituted this summer. Thirty-one suits were instituted this year, compared with 25 for all of 1944 and 25 for 1945.

The need for anti-trust action is acute. Trends toward monopoly in the war years were alarming. The concentration of economic power in the hands of a few is greater than ever before in our history. The 250 largest corporations hold approximately two-thirds of the nation's manufacturing plants and either own or are in a position to control facilities equal to the nation's entire manufacturing plant in 1939.

T. R. B.

Washington

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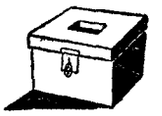
Political Roundup—Veterans in Politics



THE POLITICAL awakening of young veterans is the biggest news in the South this year. The Athens, Tennessee, sensation has its counterpart in revolts against machine politics in Alabama, Arkansas and neighboring territory. It is good news that the first organized meeting of the rebelling groups in Alamo, Tennessee, on August 19, rejected the idea of forming a new national veterans' political party. General Evans Carlson of the Marines, who turned up for the mass meeting, convinced the men that they would get further by dropping third-party ideas and concentrating on working within the established parties. Jim Buttram, the ex-corporal who led the Athens revolt, wound up the meeting with the plea to the group to "go back to your counties and form, not a mob, but organizations to preserve the ballot so a man can run without the blessing of Ed Crump."

The veterans' revolt in the South really started in Garland County, Arkansas, home of the political machine of Mayor Leo McLaughlin, when a GI ticket opposed the machine in the local elections. Two veterans' candidates, including the leader, Sidney McMath, won Democratic nominations but will be opposed in the general elections by "independent" candidates backed by Boss McLaughlin. The veterans will counter with independent candidates for the offices to which machine men were nominated. Only an honest ballot count will give the GI ticket a chance, but the veterans are relying on the Athens incident for that.

In at least six other Arkansas counties, concerted veterans' action against machine domination has taken place. There has also been activity in at least three Tennessee counties and one in Alabama. Mississippi has local elections next year and plans are already being laid for opposition to the machines. There is still talk of an independent ticket to oppose the Crump candidates in Tennessee in November —a useful move regardless of the immediate result.

Minnesota.—The death of William J. Gallagher (D-FL) marks the passing of a man often referred to as a political accident but whose record in Congress was among the best. A street cleaner when elected, he was a unique figure in Minnesota politics—a combination of populist, single-taxer and liberal Democrat. A spare, stooped man, he seldom spoke in Congress, but when he did, his booming voice could be heard all over the chamber as he exhorted his colleagues to talk less and do more. Probable choice of the Democratic State Committee for a substitute candidate is George Phillips, president of the AFL Central Labor Council of Minneapolis, who stands an excellent chance.

The most likely Democratic congressional gain is in the 8th District, where J. A. Blatnick, CIO-PAC endorsed, is challenging Representative William Pittenger (R), one of the most vocal reactionaries in the House and a leading enemy of the OPA last session. A shift of about 4,500 of the 1944 vote will put Blatnick in.

In the 5th District, another progressive young D-FL candidate, Douglas Hall, is given a good chance to defeat Republican Representative Walter Judd, the former missionary who has made a clear record of backsliding against the public welfare during his four years in office.

New York.—If as few liberals vote nationally in November as they did in New York City last week, the Republicans will probably win control of the House. Bad as the results were for the progressives, the wins and losses did not come as a surprise to PAC leaders, but the margins of victory did. The labor-supported candidate for the Democratic nomination in the 4th Congressional District, George Rooney, was not expected to win against the reactionary Representative William Barry, but neither was it anticipated that the machine would turn out almost 17,000 votes to swamp Rooney's 5,000. Few liberal politicians expected Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin to win the nomination over the Republican organization candidate Frederic Coudert, but there was general amazement on the Left when Coudert polled 10,000 votes to Baldwin's 2,000. Although Representatives Adam Clayton Powell and Vito Marcantonio failed to win the Republican as well as the Democratic and ALP nominations this time, there is little doubt that both will be returned to office. The Republicans will now concentrate on trying to elect Jacob Javits to the 21st District seat in a three-cornered race against Democratic Assemblyman Danny Flynn and ALP Councilman Eugene Connolly, hoping that the latter two will split each other's vote.

Connecticut.—Democrats here are under no illusions about the tough job ahead of them in November. On September 10, the Republican State Convention will almost certainly nominate Governor Raymond E. Baldwin, the greatest vote-getter in Connecticut politics, for the Senate. That means a record vote for an off-year election will be required to prevent Baldwin from carrying his entire ticket over the present splendid Democratic delegation.

Indications are that Chester Bowles has made up his mind to fight for the gubernatorial nomination at the September 15 Democratic convention, whether or not Senator McMahon wants him to. McMahon is reported still cold to the thought of Bowles holding the top party spot in the state, but is gradually reconciling himself to the prospect as Bowles sentiment swells.

Texas.—The results of last week's second primary represents a clean sweep for the reactionaries. The big-money candidate for Governor, Beauford Jester, licked liberal Homer P. Rainey two-to-one. Chances of replacing Republocrat incumbents with better materials in run-offs in the 5th, 9th and 15th Districts vanished. Texas progressives are not daunted, however, and are already mobilizing to hold control of the party organization when the Democratic state convention meets in San Antonio on September 10.

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Facts About Big Business

Is the American economy controlled by big business? How much has industrial concentration grown during the war? Is the opportunity for small business widening or narrowing? Can we rely on competition to protect the consumer and bring about an equitable sharing of gains in production and technology, or must we look forward to a more highly planned and regulated economic order?

Has Concentration Increased Since the War?

Competition after the war will to an increasing extent be carried on by a few large concerns rather than by many small ones. In some cases actual monopoly will exist. Those who discuss the future of private enterprise without taking into account these facts ignore the most important feature of the American economy as it now exists.

The big companies have been using their huge liquid assets to buy government facilities and smaller private concerns. Since 1943 the rate of mergers and acquisitions has been higher than in the previous 15 years, and has shot up almost perpendicularly. Iron and steel and machinery accounted for 25 percent of the total acquisitions between 1940 and 1945. Food and liquor, drugs and pharmaceuticals also have become more highly concentrated. Everywhere big business is growing more rapidly than small business. This aggravates the tendency to concentration which the war itself hastened.

How Were Big Plants Expanded?

The 250 largest manufacturing corporations owned 65 percent of the nation's production facilities in 1939. During the war they operated 79 percent of all the new facilities built with federal funds and privately operated. They held options to purchase everything they operated.

About $26 billion was spent during the war for new productive equipment—plants and machinery. This compares with total manufacturing facilities existing in 1939, which had cost $40 billion. The new facilities are of the most modern design and the greatest efficiency. It is estimated that about $20 billion worth of the new capacity is usable for peacetime products. Nearly three-quarters of the outlay was to enlarge manufacture of the same product which the operator made before the war. Of more than 100,000 machine tools provided, 78 percent were general-purpose tools.

If the 250 largest corporations exercise their purchase options, the value of their war-created productive facilities, including those which they themselves financed, will be almost equal to the total value of the nation's manufacturing plant as it stood before the war. They will own a slightly larger percentage (66.5 percent) of the total manufacturing capacity of the nation than in 1939, although this capacity has been greatly increased.

Will Big Business Have Other Advantages?

Technological improvements and know-how which will make possible new types of products and cut costs of production were developed during the war principally by the big companies. Research, much of it financed by the government, was conducted mainly in their laboratories. Out of war earnings they have spent millions to advertise their names and trademarks. After the end of the war, the net working capital of the 63 largest manufacturing corporations was larger than that of all manufacturing corporations listed with the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1939, or about $10 billion.

Who Got the War Contracts?

Of the $175 billion of prime government contracts awarded between June, 1940, and October 1, 1944, nearly two-thirds went to the 100 corporations which received the largest orders. More than half of the plums went to only 33 companies, each of which had orders totaling a billion dollars or more. The first 10 corporations received 30 percent of the contract awards (by value).

At the top stands General Motors Corporation (du Pont-controlled), with $13,812 million of war orders. Other motor and plane companies are near the top of the list, which as a whole includes great corporations in many industries.

How Was Small Business Affected?

Did the big concerns share this business with the smaller ones by handing out subcontracts? Only slightly over one-third of the value of the prime contracts was passed on to subcontractors. Of this amount approximately 75 percent went to other large companies. These in turn made some further subcontracts. In the end, however, according to an estimate by the Smaller War Plants Corporation, the war production of small concerns amounted to only 30 percent of the total.

The fact that a high degree of industrial concentration exists does not mean that there are not still many small businesses. In manufacturing, 98.9 percent of the firms had in 1939 less than 500 employees each. These firms employed 51.7 percent of the factory workers. The effect of the war on small business is shown clearly by the fact that in 1944 the firms employing less than 500 apiece, which still made up 97.8 percent of all manufacturers, employed only 38.1 percent of the factory workers. This shrinkage was particularly marked in the war industries. In the non-war industries less change was noticed.

Those small businesses which succeeded in obtaining subcontracts became dependent on the large concerns for their sales and materials. This dependency may continue.

Monopoly Before the First World War

Business combinations and the control of prices and output through pools and gentlemen's agreements flourished after the Civil War. By 1904 the so-called trusts controlled 40 percent of the manufacturing capital in the United States. Virtual monopoly control existed in 30 products from asphalt to whiskey, including electrical equipment, leather, petroleum products, glass, shoe machinery, steel, sugar and tobacco. Anti-trust legislation and financial

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crises retarded but did not destroy the tendency toward concentration. It is estimated by Gardiner C. Means that in 1909 the 200 largest non-financial corporations owned one-third of the business assets of the country (excluding banks, insurance companies and so forth).

What Happened After World War I?

During World War I big business grew rapidly because war contracts went mainly to the great concerns and these concerns made huge profits, a large portion of which they laid aside for future expansion. Their reserves enabled most of them to weather the storm of 1921. The giant business concerns increased in importance during the 1920's, and mergers continued.

The 200 largest non-financial corporations which controlled one-third of the business assets in 1909 had 48 percent in 1929. Their percentage of the total corporate income grew from 33 in 1920 to 43 in 1929. Five percent of corporations earned 78.9 percent of the corporate income of the country in 1918, and increased their share until it reached 87.9 percent in 1932. Those manufacturing corporations, each of which had an annual net income of $5 million or more, got 34.2 percent of corporate manufacturing income in 1918 and 46.1 percent in 1929. Those companies with annual net income of less than $250,000 lost ground, receiving 23.4 percent of the total in manufacturing in 1918 and 19.1 percent in 1929.

Did Big Business Gain Under Roosevelt?

During the great depression all business suffered, and big business especially lost ground because it exerts more control in the industries making capital goods, which decline more when business is bad. During the recovery, however, the tendency toward concentration made up for lost time. The 316 largest manufacturers held 35 percent of the working capital in 1926 and 47 percent in 1938. Manufacturing corporations each having more than $50 million assets owned 37 percent of the total manufacturing assets in 1934 and 49 percent in 1942. There were 205 of these giants in the latter year. In 1942 the manufacturing corporations receiving annual net incomes of $5 million or more had just over half the total manufacturing income as compared with 46 percent in 1929. On the other hand, manufacturing corporations with incomes of less than $250,000, which had received 19.1 percent of the total income in 1929, had only 11.6 percent in 1942.

In industries accounting for one-third the value of all American manufactured products, the four largest producers in each industry turned out more than three-fourths of the product of that industry.

How About Mergers?

The growth of big business under Roosevelt was not primarily due to combinations or mergers of separate companies but rather to expansion of individual concerns. Mergers, however, had thrived between 1919 and 1929. They were particularly numerous in iron and steel, machinery, producers of food, motion pictures, retail trade and hotels. Of course the concentration of holding-company control in electric power was notorious.

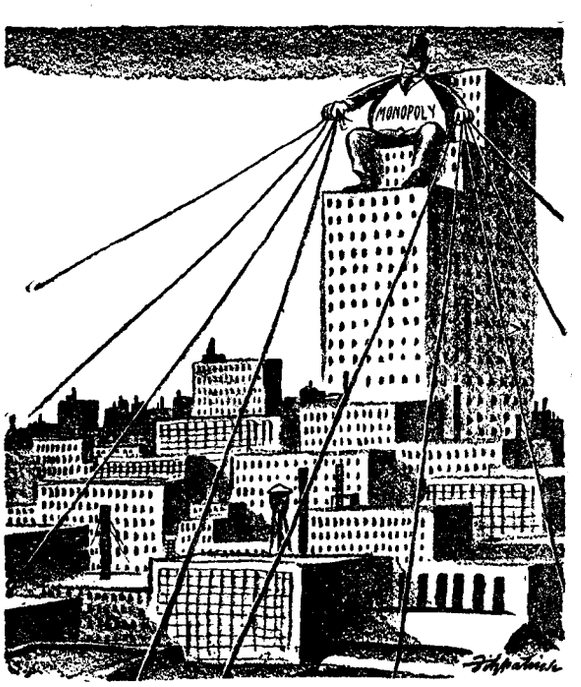
There were nearly three times as many mergers in 1929 as in 1919. During the depression and the subsequent New Deal recovery the number of business consolidations fell off sharply. Concentration then became more a matter of the growth of existing large companies.

Who Owns Big Business?

Corporate publicity often argues that ownership of shares is distributed among millions of persons and therefore a sort of democratic control exists. As a matter of fact the Securities and Exchange Commission made a study before the recent war showing that 10,000 persons, or .008 percent of the population, own one-fourth of all the capital stock and 75,000 persons, or .06 percent of the population, own one-half the stock. The 1,000 persons who receive the largest dividend payments get 10.4 percent of all dividends, and 61,000 persons receive one-half of the dividends.

In the 200 largest non-financial corporations, 60 percent of the common stock is owned by the upper one percent of the registered stockholders. In one-fourth of these corporations half the common stock is owned by the 20 largest shareholders. In another fifth of them the 20 largest owners have between 25 and 50 percent of the stock—an amount which usually carries control. Three family groups—the duPonts, Mellons and Rockefellers—control 15 of the 200 giant corporations, with assets of more than $8 billion. A still larger amount of indirect control is exercised by the principal owners through such means as proxies, interlocking directorates, investment trusts and banking affiliations. In 1935 nearly a third of the directorships of the 200 largest non-financial corporations and the 50 largest financial corporations were held by only 400 men. If this was true in 1935, imagine the degree of concentration in 1945—and 1955.

Little businesses are started in large numbers; many of them fail; a few succeed; a still smaller number grow big. Big business stays and grows bigger. The figures of bankruptcies, of low average profits, often cited to show business risk, refer mainly to small business. It is big business which pays the piper and calls the tune.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Regimentation of Business—Private Brand

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Thoughts on Labor Day

by Thurman Arnold and Walton Hamilton

IT SAYS in the good book—the Bible, the Constitution or Adam Smith—that "man cannot live by wage rates alone." The rate is a sheer fiction unless there are "hours worked" to go along with it; and the more of these hours—that is, within the limits of decency, say forty or less—the more it signifies. But the rate is set down, not in units of value which remain the same from everlasting to everlasting, but in terms of dollars whose power to purchase may be—and just now is—a wasting asset. Labor, then, a dominant interest in the American commonwealth, must shape its program toward a multiple objective. It must work for a stable economy with permanent and high prosperity; it must hold and advance wage rates for the sake of that permanent prosperity; it must stand firm and even take the offensive against limitation of production and the degradation of the dollar.

The various fronts on which labor must fight are vitally linked. In particular, to carry on as if the money wage were the ultimate goal is to confuse trade-union strategy. For in our industrial culture money is no more than a means of measure. Now, as in the past and always, a man's wage is and must be his own fair share of the total of goods which the nation produces.

This share is a product of two terms, not of one. Together they fix the worker's living standard so that on the wage front a double, rather than a single, strategy is called for. In respect to the advance of wage rates, the national labor force may be divided into groups by industry or by craft. For those who do the same work, or work for the same employers, can best stand together. But in respect to guarding the purchasing power of the dollar the interests of all groups are alike, and all crafts must maintain a united front. If each is to attain its own goal, it must not betray the objective of the others. A series of separate movements to advance wage rates, if unattended by any campaign to increase production and hold the price front, may be futile; for business sets wages down as costs—with a profit added—and higher rates get reflected in higher prices which other crafts must pay.

To succeed, the labor movement must be a consumer's movement as well. It is axiomatic, then, that the value of a day's work lies not in the dollars by which it is counted, but in the good things of life which it will buy. To advance wages without advancing prices—or more strictly for wages to advance at a higher rate than profits—is not the absurdity a large section of the press holds. It is good American doctrine, the only way through which the increased industrial efficiency of a new age can be distributed to that great body of consumers known as labor.

THE NEED FOR LARGE PRODUCTION

Real wages are most easily and rapidly advanced when production is increasing. And since the sum of the parts cannot exceed the size of the whole, an abundance must be produced if the shares of the crafts and of their members are to be increased in quantity. Labor, let us say it with a couple of "therefores," has a stake in all that makes for larger and larger production. The union is a partner in all enterprises which make for progress.

For that reason restriction of output is a luxury which labor can ill afford. In a number of trades there are, at least on occasion, the best of excuses for not breaking one's neck and for stretching the task out. Labor has bitter memories of "working itself out of a job"; of seeing high productivity followed by a slump in which goods are unsalable. The volume of work is limited; fairness to fellow workers demands that it be made to go around. But however valid at any moment are the reasons which prompt them, such restraints are unfair to other crafts. For they use more labor than is necessary, increase the costs of the resulting services, impose a price for idleness and waste upon the consumer. This becomes a tax which one group of workers imposes upon others.

If specific restraints were casual or exceptional, they might be overlooked. But, as in all human affairs, an act tends to be repeated, to become a custom, to be vested as of right. So, with labor, as with other economic groups, practices which are mischievous come to be frozen into a pattern. Thus the rules of some of the building trades spread a great deal of labor over a very little work; it is demanded that musicians be hired as stand-bys even when there is nothing for them to do; itinerant trucks are required to pay for the services of local drivers—even if they are not used—when passing through certain cities.

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Comment on this article appears in the editorial section of this issue. — THE EDITORS

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Such practices have become widespread enough to enrich the language with the term "featherbedding." As already suggested, the evils to which such rules are addressed are often genuine enough; there are more members in the trade than there is work for, and security is among the highest of human values. But rarely, if ever, is such a remedy effective and in the long run it aggravates the mischief. For it does not find employment elsewhere for workers not needed in the trade and, by imposing a cost for unnecessary labor, it raises the price and restricts the market.

Business Featherbedding

For the prevalence of such practices labor is not alone, or even chiefly, to blame. It only follows where the most respectable economic groups have blazed the way. If there is stand-by labor, we also have an abundance of functionless capital. The railroads today charge shippers interest on "sums invested" which are there because of machinations in the distant past. In public utilities the law allows the operating companies a "fair return" on their investment; yet the capitalization upon which the return is paid is often not monies actually put to work, but the values of the properties as derived from their capacities to pay dividends. And, generally by pyramiding corporate structure upon capital structure and then protecting the merger from competition, three or four capital items are there to claim dividends where none was before. An inventory of all the sums of capital which currently bear interest, over the investments actually necessary to get our industrial work done, would reveal an alarming amount of featherbedding.

Nor is management as distinguished from capital in any position to make charges or to hurl brickbats. There are numerous and colorful instances, but no statistics, of the number of stand-bys in the managerial group. A would-be aluminum producer gives up his own business and becomes "consultant" to a large corporation at a better-than-living wage. His real contribution to his new master has been to forsake his own business; his worth is measured by value subtracted from the national total. Officials of huge corporate empires are in fact, however it may legally be set down, their own employers. They fix their own salaries at the expense of their disenfranchised stockholders and, with a keen eye to the indispensable character of their own services, vote themselves bonuses. The super-wage slave can hardly complain of the teamster's bit of gravy while clinging as of right to his own velvet.

Nor was there during the war years equality of sacrifice among economic groups. The employment, the movement, the earnings of labor were governed by more rigid formulas than were the earnings of capital. The letting of war contracts was on a far more elastic basis than the increase of wages. Wages were held in check lest there be inflation, but no such fear restrained the procurement of materials of war. If labor was sometimes represented on boards, representatives of the employers and of the public were there to effect a balance. In the letting of contracts and the stimulation of production, representatives of big business were on both sides of the bargain. In the War Department the people's money was signed away by corporate executives disguised as Army officers; and the War Production Board was in fact a house of delegates from the managerial group. The renegotiation of contracts and the excess-profits tax—which passed into eclipse at the earliest decent moment—did not begin to set things right. Privilege, manifest in the unchecked pursuit of gain at public expense, was rampant.

The meaning of all this is clear. Labor has no monopoly on strikes, stoppages, self-interest. We can present the most respectable precedents for every restrictive practice in which it has engaged. But labor, in its own interest, should remember that its affairs must be carried on in the open; the affairs of capital, while perhaps they should, do not get such public airing. When labor joins with capital to restrict production it gets very few of the gains and most of the blame. It trades its own public standing and long-run interest for a very petty share of the fruits of exploitation. The hodcarriers who prevented the use of ready-mixed concrete in Chicago did not get a speculative profit out of the increased cost of homes. The moral is plain. Organized labor has the interest and the power to impose upon the national economy a cease-and-desist order against making the good things of life scarce. It should not confine its objective and impair its moral position by tolerating sabotage of production in its own ranks.

Herblock in the Washington Post

Meeting the Trains from Washington

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Two basic questions must be put: What do labor unions owe to each other? And what do they owe the public? The questions are really one; for workers and their families are the larger part of the public and, in respect to holding—and presently increasing—the purchasing power of the dollar, the interests of labor and of the consumer are identical.

Break Down the Barriers

The need is for a return to common sense, the "old-time religion," the "American way." Break the barriers which hold opportunity in leash, which barricade industries against the newcomer and which make access to the market a special privilege. The mine workers serve their brethren in other trades very poorly when they attempt to impose rust upon Big Inch and Little Inch in the fear that to make oil and gas more plentiful will decrease the demand for coal and for men to mine it. And if the railroads see a menace in a great job-creating enterprise such as the St. Lawrence Waterway, the Brotherhoods who cause trains to move will be unfair to labor in general if they go along. It is the state of industry in general—its vitality or impotence—which creates the situation within which the leaders of the various unions must wage their several battles. If industry is healthy, expanding, dynamic, the gains will be material; if the hand of paralysis has been laid upon it, heroic efforts can secure only small gains.

A dynamic economy is a changing economy. As it grows, new industries emerge and old ones expand or decline. Wherever it moves to restrict output, labor has lapsed from a broad to a myopic, from a healthy to a pathological, view. At such times it has tried to keep alive trades which were dying rather than to make the most of new employment and to ease the transfer of the unwanted from decadent into growing trades. The case for unemployment insurance is unquestioned and there must be no backward step from a scheme of social security which covers all the great hazards of life. But social security—a necessity in our current society—is for labor a defensive rather than an offensive weapon. And even so good a thing as full employment is not to be accepted sight unseen. We demand, and have a right to demand, full employment with an increasing real wage, not full employment at any price. And the full employment that brings with it an ever-advancing standard of life can come only by freeing industry of the shackles which hold enterprise in bondage. In so far as social security is a substitute for the honest earnings of the individual, the size of the need for it is an index of sickness in the national economy.

One cannot be a good trade unionist without being a good citizen. If a worker is to advance not only his wage but its purchasing power as well, he must make public matters his own affair. A host of questions which affect the wealth of the nation await his attention. A large part of the economy has escaped the rule of free enterprise and is headed for established privilege. Since the great depression and increasingly during the war, industry after industry has been operating at government expense. And now that the war is over, many of these have yet to demonstrate their ability to get back on their own. Even more: Far more numerous are the businesses which in one way or another have been permitted to assess their own subsidies against the government. Milk inspection, decreed to protect the public health, has been used to create a sheltered market for the elect. Housing has been priced out of the reach of the American people by a host of restraints imposed by building codes, suppliers of materials, real-estate boards. The patent, intended to protect the inventor, is now most usually employed to "fence in" privileged preserves. By joining international cartels, American concerns are assured of exclusive access to the American market and swear away our opportunity to build up trade overseas. Industries are thus insulated against competition, new blood, newer ways. And like all things which are freed from the necessity of making good, they no longer feel the goad which makes for progress. If real wages are to advance, a long neglected task of making dynamic that which has become sterile awaits labor.

A Future of Abundance

The total product is fixed by no iron law. It depends upon the knowledge of men and the wisdom and good faith with which that knowledge is put to work. For man does not live in a prison-house, in which a niggardly nature has provided a limited amount of wealth which is less than enough to go around. Instead, the resources whence come our livings are the great unknown. The gifts of nature are of value to us as they can be turned to account. As we are free to ask new questions, we acquire new knowledge; as knowledge is made practical, technologies turn into resources that which before was only stuff. Indians once starved on Texas plains where oil now flows in such profusion that government action is needed to make it scarce. And our science, and the useful arts in which it finds expression, are still in their infancy. One great threat to labor is an attitude which would hold in check the creation of plenty lest in an avalanche of goods the privileged be threatened with financial insolvency. Its inheritance awaits American labor if its crafts will recognize their community of interests with each other and with the public—and if it will let its mind and its program be bold.

A word is necessary as to the practical problems of orienting labor to its responsibilities. Voluntary action in the present decentralized control of the labor movement does not seem likely. It would require new leadership of the particular unions which have established restrictive practices over a period of years to enter into a struggle to remake the pattern of the unions and

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frequently of the industry. This cannot be expected without outside pressure if, as is usually the case, the leadership is old and lacking in flexibility.

Legislation setting rules of the game or freeing the Anti-Trust Division to bring about correction of these practices is perhaps the most promising avenue of approach. However, this is not a prospect for the immediate future. The present strength of the anti-labor coalition makes the most progressive elements of labor afraid to sponsor such legislation. Yet such legislation is necessary if the anti-labor coalition is not to have a strong and valid argument against certain labor practices, under the cloak of which it can secure popular support for broad restrictions on the entire labor movement. Perhaps the election of a Congress more favorably inclined to labor's cause will release the more progressive organized-labor elements from their ties to the few segments of the labor movement which have followed the big-business pattern of restricting production and thus impeding the free functioning of our economy. But whatever the solution is and however indefinite the date at which it may be attained, those who believe in labor and in labor's cause must realize that practices restricting production are a liability of which labor must rid itself at the earliest possible moment.

Report on Russia

V. Everyday Life in the Soviet Union

by Earl Browder

How can one convey to American readers something of the flavor and texture of everyday life in the Soviet Union? From my own experience it seemed this could best be done by a simple factual account of my observations and conversations in the course of a visit through the ZIS automobile factory. My companions are Maxim, a worker in this factory since 1922 and now one of its directors; Vania, my interpreter, a young intellectual who learned his Americanized English in the Moscow universities; and Vasya, connected with the Foreign Office.

"I will ask you such questions as any uninformed American might ask," I told them. "I know the answers, but those for whom I will write are interested in your views much more than in mine. I want to give your views of some aspects of everyday life, to tell you what criticisms are voiced in America and transmit your answers. I want you to use me to talk to America, and to hear some of America's talk about you."

My companions agreed to this proposal and forgave me in advance for my assumed ignorance.

"I have examined your wage scales here," I went on, "and find they would not buy enough on the free market to sustain a worker. How do you live?"

"Every worker here receives a basic ration of food and clothes at fixed prices," replied Maxim. "He pays free-market prices only for those things he buys above this ration. So for his basic living he has a steady relationship between wages and prices. During the war, living conditions became very difficult, but they are better already and continue to improve. Every worker knows that week by week he is sharing in the rise of the national economy, and he also knows that if he personally makes more than the usual contribution to production he receives more than the usual material reward. Therefore he is not too worried about the big gap between fixed prices and free-market prices, especially since he sees this gap is steadily being diminished and will probably be wiped out in a few years."

Reconverting the Standard of Living

"Let me ask you a question," interposed Vania. "Are the living conditions of American workers improving, now that the worst burdens of war are over?"

"No, in America the problems of everyday life have become more difficult since the war ended," I was forced to admit. "There is less employment, weekly earnings have declined and prices are going up."

"We would consider that very irrational here," said Vania. "We understood that everyone must share the national hardships during the war, but when the war is over conditions must improve. We would get very excited if we did not see things getting better every week. How do you explain it in America that when the war ends things get worse instead of better?"

This is the fifth in a series of articles by Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party of America, who was expelled from party membership this year.

The New Republic, *which believes in liberal democracy, is of course opposed on principle to communism. We publish Browder's series for its intrinsic interest and value.*

The final article will deal with the possibility of Soviet-American coöperation.

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"I'm afraid it is not explained very clearly," I said. "But then you must remember that conditions are still better in America than before the war. During the war our workers enjoyed the best conditions they ever had. They had steady jobs, with much overtime at premium rates, and wages were increased more than prices. Now we are only going back toward the conditions that existed before the war."

"We also are restoring our prewar conditions," said Maxim. "But with us this means going forward. As soon as we remedy the war damages we will improve life faster than before. Our people would not leave us in positions of leadership if we couldn't do that."

"You will have to remember that the American standard of living is several times higher than that of Russia," I replied as the spokesman for America.

"Yes, and the Russian standard of living is several times as high as that of India," said Vania. "But we would not permit that to be used as an excuse for slipping backward instead of improving."

Lunch in the Factory

"These young men and women we have just been watching at their work are now in their lunch hour. Where will they eat, and what?"

"They are all eating in dining rooms within the plant grounds," answered Maxim. "Each employee has a ticket entitling him to one hot meal per day in the dining room of his department. It usually consists of soup, meat or fish, with potatoes, a dessert and tea."

"Many of our large American plants now have very fine dining rooms for the workers," I remarked. "They give good, clean meals at low prices. It is a great improvement over the old way when the workers went outside to eat at dozens of little lunchrooms where cleanliness was questionable and prices were high."

"Yes, I have heard of that from visiting American automobile workers," said Maxim. "I understand that they were introduced after the Soviet factory dining rooms began to be discussed in your country. We are very happy to know that you can learn something from us, since we have learned so much from your country. This whole factory copied the American technique. But why is it that while we openly discuss how we learn from America, in your country you never admit learning anything from us?"

"Well," I answered hesitantly, "it is difficult for us to admit we are not first in everything." My friends dropped the issue with a general laugh.

They took me to visit one of the dining rooms. It was light, clean and roomy and full of workers at their meal. The furnishings were a bit ornate for American taste, with potted flowers on the tables and palms in tubs in the corners, evidently copied from the "best places" of the old order. I have often noticed the Soviet tendency to cling to the old ways in many of the surface aspects of life, even while they are making a thoroughgoing revolution in fundamental economic and social organization.

We walked through the plant grounds from building to building, along paths set in grass between rows of trees that were watered by automatic sprinklers.

"This is part of the postwar reconstruction," said Maxim, indicating the greenery. "We want our plant to be beautiful as well as productive. But of course we can't do all we wish. This is only a beginning. Our main energies go into new buildings and reconstructing machinery. We can't build many new homes yet."

I recalled that I had visited this same plant in 1921. It was then called the "Amo," and was rather a sorry wreck of a place. I repeated a quip I had heard at that time from a worker: "We are supposed to build automobiles, but all we turn out is cigarette lighters."

"Not exactly true," said the literal Maxim. "I came to this plant in 1922, and we were turning out many things, including household goods of all sorts. But it is true the first automobile came from this plant in 1924, and it was only with the first Five-Year Plan that serious production began. We have gone a long way since then, but still we are only taking our first big steps. Wait a few more years and then come back and see us."

"I know little of those days," said Vania. "I was a child just entering school. I became conscious of the world during the first Five-Year Plan. But we have outgrown that stage, too, and now you can see this assembly line turning out seeds of the future, trucks—150 a day and quickly increasing—that before long will bring us, technically, right up alongside America."

"Americans welcome your rivalry and wish you success in your efforts," I said, and I truly felt I spoke for most Americans. "But it will take a long time for you to catch up with America unless we do an awfully poor job, because we have such a big head start."

The Russians Discuss Our Depression

"That is true," remarked Vasya. "You have a big lead over all the world. But to keep it you will have to learn how to avoid such economic crises as you suffered from 1929 to 1939. We Russians truly hope you will, because an economic crisis in America will hurt the whole world, including the USSR. Your economic crisis cannot spread to us, as you saw in 1929 when we were beginning our first great expansion; but its effects hurt us by creating bad conditions all about us. Your 1929 crisis began the world storm that produced Hitler. We truly hope you will not have another in 1949, or 1954, because it will spread again to most of the world, maybe even deeper, and somewhere in the world may produce a worse edition of Hitler. That is why we must constantly look to our defenses. The future is still uncertain. We must make plans which we are certain we can carry out only for the territory of the Soviet Union—and only so long as we guard against another attack."

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Both Maxim and Vania expressed their agreement with this remark by Vasya.

"That interests me very much," I said, "because the anti-Soviet press in America has convinced many people that the Soviet Union wants to see a crisis in the USA and will even do everything it can to bring this about."

"Such persons think we are as stupid as they are," snorted Vasya. "Because they don't hesitate to injure their own country only in order to do harm to us, so they think we know nothing better than to answer in the same language. But that sort of game has no end; it is unprofitable to everyone. We may have our faults, but such stupidity is not among them."

The Soviet Press

"Tell me something of your newspapers," I asked, "since this is also a matter of much confusion in America. Your enemies say you have no free press such as we have in our country."

"Certainly our newspapers are different," replied Vasya, "but we think they serve our country better than your system would. You see, we simply cannot understand why one individual should control a great social institution like a newspaper without responsibility to any representative body of its readers. We can no more conceive of permitting our newspapers to be private property than we could our government. Your argument that only your system gives freedom is like the arguments of royalists that only a good king can provide political freedom. We cannot see the virtue in either political or economic royalists, even when they talk of freedom. That is a type of 'freedom' we do not appreciate, especially when we saw it go so far that one of your great newspapers published secret military information on the Far East just a few days before Japan struck at Pearl Harbor. We don't like the freedom of your papers to incite racial animosity, or to tell lies about us. It seems to us that this denies the freedom of your readers to receive dependable information."

"Is it true, then, that everything printed in your papers is a direct expression of government policy?" I asked.

"No, of course not," replied Vasya, "especially not in matters of opinion, where a wide latitude is exercised by our writers. There is as much normal difference of opinion and its expression here as anywhere. But unlike America, differences of opinion are not institutionalized around conflicting private-property interests which are outside the control of public institutions. You cannot understand our newspapers if you prejudge them as stereotypes from a central propaganda office, because they are not. They are a very vital part of the system of organized information and discussion by which our country meets and solves its problems. If you see us making successes in any field, then you may know that our press is really functioning as we expect it to."

"Our American press prides itself on its campaigns to combat bureaucracy and corruption in public life," I remarked. "Is the Soviet press active in this field?"

"Yes, indeed," said Maxim. "We are just now in the midst of a big housecleaning of corrupt and bureaucratic persons who managed to worm their way into positions of trust during the war because the spotlight of public attention was concentrated elsewhere; now that we have time for it, we are exposing and removing such people. Our newspapers, from the factory paper up to *Pravda*, all take an important part in this."

"From what I have been able to learn of America," said Vania, "I would judge that your newspapers keep their hands off the most important examples of bureaucracy and corruption, which are to be found, of course, in the highly organized and trustified industries. With us, however, this is the field of most attention. Is it not true that American newspapers ignore the inner problems of the American steel industry, for example, or the chemical and auto industries? Didn't I read about the auto magnates successfully defying even a government-sponsored inquiry into their internal conditions?"

"You may have something there," I said. "But let's talk of something else now. Tell me something about the development of cultural and social life among your people; for example, how do the ZIS workers spend their time outside the plant?"

"That's the next item on our program," said Maxim. "We will now visit the Palace of Culture that is maintained by and for the ZIS workers."

The Palace of Culture

This Palace of Culture, erected just before the war, is a great modern building near the plant on grounds formerly occupied by a monastery. It houses a beautiful movie theatre which seats a capacity audience of 2,500 persons at three performances daily. A large concert and dance hall is constantly in use. There is a well stocked library, which is a branch of the great central Lenin Library and can draw upon it for any known book in any language. We saw large corridors, on the walls of which the records of labor heroes in the ZIS plant vied for attention with pictorial exposition of the goals and scientific methods of the auto industry.

We visited the children's department, in which one studio is used for both musical classes and individual students; another caters to young painters, woodcarvers and sculptors; a series of rooms provides games of all sorts, and finally, a mysterious locked door halts visitors who intrude into this children's world. "No one can enter here except by express permission of the children's committee and under its guidance. In here are the animals and birds which they are raising and which they allow no one else to touch."

We spent hours in the art gallery—room after room hung with oil paintings, crayon drawings, em-

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broidery, clay models and wood carvings, all the work of employees of the ZIS plant or their children. In this gallery I was truly the average American, tremendously impressed but without any of that expert knowledge which can give surety of judgment.

"I don't know what the art critics would say of all this," I concluded, "but of one thing I'm quite certain: A large number of people, most of them young, had a great deal of pleasure in producing these pictures, a much larger number of persons are sharing that pleasure in looking at them and the whole ZIS factory takes on a new character in my mind, as I imagine it does in the lives of the workers, because of this Palace of Culture. These people live a harder life than do we in America, but at the same time it is definitely a richer life in many respects. What we have that the Russians haven't, they are quickly and consciously learning; what they have that we haven't, we in the United States are refusing to learn—no, refusing to admit that there is anything to be learned."

"We're going to catch up with you in America, and even surpass you, in the development of industrial production and scientific mastery of nature," said Maxim, friendly but challenging.

"Maybe you're right," said I. "I hope that in doing so, however, you don't repeat one phase of American experience. In the America of the past, even in the America of my younger days, the everyday life of the people had a flavor that lasted and made one want always more of it. But we lost more and more of that flavor of life as we proceeded with our industrial expansion. I hope you succeed in all the aims of your new Five-Year Plan without losing the distinctive flavor of your everyday life, which to me has always been one of Russia's chief attractions. I don't know if that flavor is Russian or Soviet or a combination of both, but I know it is good. And when I get back to America I hope that I will be able to transmit to my fellow Americans some little taste of that flavor."

This article is the first instalment on that promise.

The Murders at Monroe

by H. William Fitelson

BY THE TIME you read this the slayers of four helpless people in Walton County, Georgia, may be arrested. But an arrest does not necessarily mean a conviction. Nor does conviction necessarily mean serious punishment.

Late Sunday afternoon, July 14, 1946, Roger Malcolm, a Negro sharecropper, had a family quarrel with his wife. His employer, Barney H. Hester Jr., 22 and white, whose father owns the farm in Monroe where Malcolm was a tenant, walked over to remonstrate with him. In the argument that ensued, Malcolm, apparently drunk, stabbed Hester with his pocket knife.

These are the facts according to the Walton *Tribune*, published in Monroe. Subsequently, conflicting stories appeared in the press. The first account, reported before the lynching by the local paper friendly to Hester (calling him a "splendid citizen"), is probably the true one. But this paper, published five days after the event, failed to mention that Malcolm was arrested and locked up immediately in the county jail at Monroe.

Perhaps this paper couldn't have been expected to print what a more remote Georgia newspaper reported: "That immediately after the stabbing a group of white men came to Malcolm's home and threatened to kill him, when a white woman interceded and called the sheriff." And naturally it could not be expected to reveal what some white Monroe inhabitants within a few steps of the courthouse told me, "that the day following the arrest a mob gathered outside the jail and called for Malcolm's lynching." In the opinion of these people, Malcolm wasn't surrendered because there were "too many young kids around."

Election Week

The stabbing and arrest happened on July 14. The alleged mob gathered at the jail the following day. On July 17, primary voting was to take place—the first primary in the history of Georgia in which Negroes could vote.

Before the 17th, each of the four primary candidates for Governor in the Democratic Party, including Eugene Talmadge, made personal campaign visits to Monroe. The votes of Walton County mean something to the candidates for Governor, and Monroe is the county seat. In November, 1943, Walton County had a civilian population of 18,842. In the current primaries, 6,505 people registered to vote; of this number 810 were Negroes.

Talmadge talked in Monroe. He talked a lot. He always talks a lot and never fails to quote the Bible. He has had to talk a lot to be Governor of Georgia three times. Since he last was Governor, several things have happened which bother him. Especially two Supreme Court decisions. One ruled that Negroes have the right to vote in state primaries. The other held Jim

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Crow on interstate buses and trains illegal under certain circumstances. In Monroe, Talmadge charged that there was only one real issue in the campaign—restoration of white primaries. If he were elected, the Negroes would never vote in primaries during his term. He'd strictly enforce Jim Crow, and on buses and trains too—never mind what the Supreme Court ruled. He warned the "good" Negroes to stay at home on the 17th and not show up at the polls. He is even alleged to have talked of "purges." During his general campaign Talmadge declared that he would welcome the support of the Ku Klux Klan with that of all white Georgians, and he is alleged to have promised that, if elected, all race problems would be left to the Klan.

On July 17 in Walton County, 4,976 votes were counted—the heaviest in its history. And in the town of Monroe, despite all Gene's talk, there were 433 Negro votes out of 2,248. The town gave Talmadge 635, Carmichael 1,253 and the balance to the other candidates. But the county, with its rural areas, gave Talmadge a majority of 78 votes. Carmichael received more popular votes in Georgia than Talmadge, but Talmadge was elected. For it is the county-unit system that prevails in Georgia, not majority rule.

Minority Action

Three days after the election Talmadge left the state on a "vacation." But the boys in Walton County didn't leave. Maybe they remembered what Gene had said. They had an unfinished job. Maybe this was a race problem. They went to work.

On July 25 at two p. m., J. Loy Harrison, a white man, arrived at the county jail in Monroe. He was accompanied by Malcolm's wife Dorothy, aged 20, and her sister and sister's husband, Willie Mae and George Dorsey. The Dorseys worked for Harrison on his farm in Oconee County, near Walton County, about 1.5 miles from where the killings are alleged to have taken place. Harrison claims he was going to bail Malcolm out so that the Malcolms could also work for him. Bail had been set at $600. But it took three hours and ten minutes to get Malcolm released. What took place in those three hours and ten minutes? Harrison says he had his car fixed and Dorothy Malcolm and the Dorseys did some shopping and drinking. What else, we do not know. Malcolm was released at 5:10. Fifty minutes later the massacre was over.

Driving the four to his farm upon Malcolm's release, Harrison, instead of taking the regular paved road, had gone off on a side road. He says that a mob of about 20 unmasked men dragged the two Negro men out of his car. When one of the women cried out the name of a man she recognized, Harrison's story goes, the mob dragged the women out too. The four Negroes got at least 60 bullets—some in the back.

Harrison phoned the Walton County sheriff. But it was the coroner of Monroe and the sheriff of Oconee County who visited the scene of the murders with Harrison. That evening the coroner held an inquest and found that the four Negroes had been killed by parties unknown. The news didn't leak out until the next day. Why was it kept secret for so long? What happened in the meantime? And here are a few more questions which should be answered:

Did Sheriff L. S. Gordon of Walton County personally go to the scene of the lynching? If not, why not? Why didn't he attend the inquest? Hester had been seriously stabbed; why was the bail set at only $600? Why was Malcolm released so late in the day? In view of the previous threats, why wasn't he removed to the stronger jail in Athens, 27.5 miles away?

If Malcolm had to stand trial soon for stabbing Hester, which meant certain imprisonment, why was Harrison willing to go to such trouble just to get temporary farm labor? Why did Harrison use the lonely side road to his farm instead of the paved highway? Harrison heard one of the murdered women call out the name of one of the mob she recognized. It seems odd that he cannot remember the name. If a hysterical Negro woman was able to identify one of them, why wasn't Harrison, who lives in the region, able to do so? Why didn't the lynchers kill Harrison? They were unmasked, he said. So, even if he didn't know them, wouldn't he recognize them later?

I of course do not accuse Harrison of complicity in this affair. But to say the least, he was careless in seeking to employ a man against whom white sentiment was running so heavily. He was careless in allowing more than three hours to elapse between the time his intention became known and the time he left town. He was careless in not sticking to the main road.

Local Police Fail

Sheriff Gordon is alleged to have concluded that, since Harrison could not identify any member of the band, he had gone as far as he could with the investigation. In Monroe, two days after the murders, Major W. E. Spence, director of the Georgia Department of Public Safety and head of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, became angry when Harrison failed to identify a suspect answering his original description. Newspapers quoted Spence as follows: "We need federal backing. With conditions that now exist in Georgia, we can't cope with them." Announcing that he was prepared to urge the passage of federal lynch laws, he said that upon his return to Atlanta he would ask for federal legislation on mob violence. He added, "I am directing the Georgia Bureau of Investigation to keep its investigators in Walton County until the guilty parties have been identified and turned over to law-enforcement officers." This is significant, as it is one of the few times, if not the first, Georgia has officially asked the federal government and the FBI to intervene. Governor Arnall offered a reward to the full limit

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of the law—$500 for the arrest and conviction of each participant in the massacre. The American Civil Liberties Union, among others, immediately posted a $1,000 reward.

Federal Penalties

Attorney General Tom Clark, acting on personal orders from President Truman to throw all the resources of the Department of Justice into the investigation, sent the FBI into action for the civil-rights section of the Department of Justice. He announced, "The FBI is investigating with dispatch, efficiency and determination."

The FBI is in this case by virtue of the federal civil-rights laws. If the assassins are apprehended, they cannot be tried in the federal courts for murder. They must be turned over to the state for trial. So judge for yourself what the chances are for conviction. And if there is a conviction, then what?

If the assassins are tried in the federal court for a violation of the federal civil-rights laws, convictions are difficult and penalties not great. The civil-rights statutes are obsolete. They require amendment. Even Attorney General Clark has publicly admitted this. In such circumstances it is risky to be a witness against a lyncher. What will happen to a witness if there is no conviction? Or if there is one and a killer serves only a year or two? These are only a few of the problems facing the citizens of Walton County.

One white woman living there told me she was glad she had no kin. Another told me she was happy that her only son was with the armed forces overseas. Of course the people are afraid. What if their kin or kin's children are involved? "What about rewards?" I asked some of them. There is now about $40,000 and it's increasing. Some said they couldn't touch it. Others felt that if they did, they'd never live to spend it.

It is a mistake to oversimplify and to characterize Monroe as a "lynch town." The people there resent it. They don't want lynching. Serious crime there is infrequent. Most of the people in Monroe would like to have the lynchers arrested, convicted and punished, even though they might not like to see them executed. And I think this is true of all Georgia.

What You Can Do

Dozens of organizations have sent protests to the President, to congressmen, to Governor Arnall. These protests are effective and should be continued. Letters to congressmen asking for passage of a strong federal anti-lynch law as soon as Congress reconvenes will help. Letters to friends or relatives in Georgia or any part of the South, urging them to write to their congressmen, may help. Contributions to the rewards for the apprehension of the lynchers, sent directly to Governor Arnall in Atlanta, Georgia, will receive individual attention.If these murderers are not punished, the effect on the terrorized Negroes and all other minorities and the encouragement to the Klan and other potential lynchers will be enormous. Passage of a federal anti-lynch law would be some deterrent to future crimes of this kind.

What Is Coming in India?

by H. N. Brailsford

The religious war that has been raging in India, with its thousands of victims, shows how serious are the tensions within that country. In the article below, written just before the disorders took place, H. N. Brailsford gives the background for those tensions and suggests a possible way out of the impasse over self-government. – THE EDITORS

Jinnah's brusque rejection of the Cabinet mission's settlement has shattered hopes of an easy birth for Indian independence. Britain's resolve to end her rule over the peninsula is still the decisive fact, but it is doubtful whether the plan worked out at New Delhi with so much patience can be made workable by patching. In retrospect I realize that I ought to feel no surprise at this initial reverse. Indian opinion, thanks largely to Gandhi's generosity, did come to recognize the mission's sincerity, but there was never a popular welcome for its plan.

What struck me most painfully was that there was no relaxation of the communal feud, even when, for a moment, both sides seemed to have accepted the settlement.

In this turbid atmosphere there is one achievement on which we may congratulate ourselves: the constituent assembly has been elected. Chosen by the provincial legislatures under proportional representation, it is a fair, and even a distinguished, reflection of Indian opinion. The Europeans wisely stood aside and, in addition to the chief party leaders, many non-party experts in various walks of life were chosen. Unhappily the Sikhs, now the most embittered of all the minorities, withdrew their candidates and will not be represented. Save for that flaw, here is a body well fitted to exercise sovereignty and to work out the shape of the Indian Union of tomorrow.

H. N. Brailsford, the well known British writer on history, economics and international affairs, a contributing editor of the New Republic, *recently returned from India.*

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But before this constituent assembly could meet, the Moslem League has darkened its prospects by threatening to boycott it. This is a more serious threat than its preparations for "direct action." If the assembly were to sit with only a handful of nationalist Moslems on its benches, the constitution it drafted would not bind the Moslem masses and could have no finality. With this weapon in his hand, Jinnah will use all his formidable gifts as a tactician to extort from Congress, or from the British government, a settlement nearer to his ambitions. That, indeed, is a relatively optimistic forecast. My own doubt is whether he wants a settlement at all: he may reckon that after some years of struggle and confusion the Moslems will be stronger than they are today.

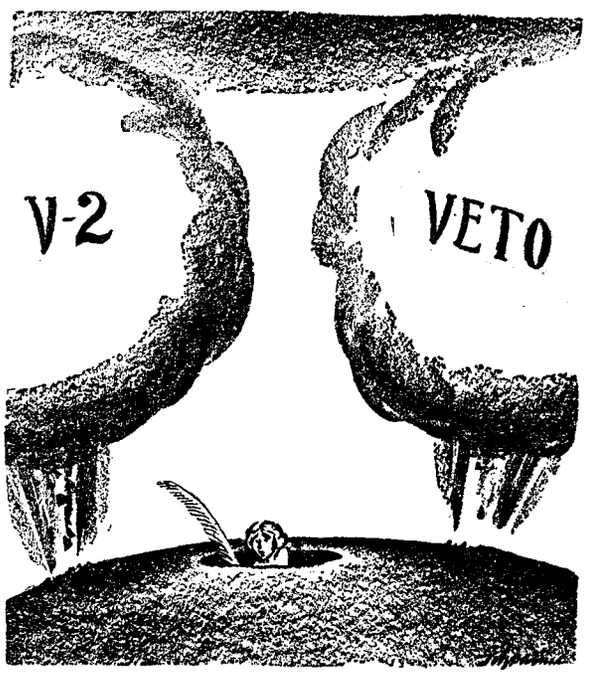
Moslem Demands

Where does the main difficulty lie? Everyone has grasped the two obstacles to the formation of an interim government. First, the League demanded Hindu-Moslem parity in numbers. Second, Jinnah publicly vetoed the nomination of any non-League Moslem. This was a challenge Congress could not ignore, for it owes much to the moral courage of its Moslem adherents. But the gravest difficulty of all is that Congress accepted the mission's plan with inner reservations. When these were disclosed by its newly elected president, Nehru, in a reckless statement to the press, the Moslems had some excuse for their accusation that he had torn up the compromise they had accepted. Each side, in the protracted discussions with the mission, had yielded something substantial to the other. The Moslems accepted the idea of an Indian Union, but its scope was limited to three subjects—foreign affairs, defense and communications. In doing so, they declared in flamboyant language that their ultimate aim was still absolute separation. On its side Congress, however reluctantly, accepted the mission's plan for the grouping of provinces within the Union. Not much of this was left after Nehru's unlucky statement. He made it clear that in the assembly Congress would do its utmost to prevent the formation of the two Moslem groups, B and C. He then went on to say that the Hindu provinces, which Congress controls, would refuse outright to form their group, A. In other words, there would be no "Hindustan."

This is really the crux of the matter. Like all progressive Indians, the leaders of Congress are bent on building up a strong center which can take charge of economic planning as well as external affairs. In this field the center, as the mission sketched it, would be impotent. It could not touch economic planning; it could not manage customs, tariffs, currency or credit; it could not even deal on an all-India footing with such an emergency as the present famine. But it is precisely over this economic charter of the settlement that the Moslems have been and will be unyielding. They know their own backwardness; they dread the power of Hindu big business; they talk of Hindu capitalists much as the Nazis talked about the Jews. They mean, therefore, to do their own economic planning and they rely on tariffs to further their ends. Congress, confronting this impasse, might have contented itself with a second-best. With "Hindustan" (the "group A" provinces) under its sway, it could have done its own economic planning over an area that comprises two-thirds of the peninsula. This prospect it has rejected: indeed, it was hardly discussed. The view of the leaders was that an Indian Union with three or even four foci would be incapable of healthy life.

The result of the rejection of the "Hindustan" idea is that Congress is now bent on enlarging the functions of the Indian Union. Nehru's argument was that it must deal with customs and tariffs, that it should levy income tax and that it should have power to override the autonomy of the provinces in a grave emergency. In theory it may be sound doctrine, but it was calculated to rouse all the fears that haunt the Moslems. The qualified version of Pakistan was vanishing; even provincial autonomy looked insecure.

No hopeful expedient remains, save what is now being done in the formation of the popular executive council to hand over responsibility to Congress: let it form the most representative interim government it can get together and deal as best it can with the boycott of the constituent assembly by the Moslems and Sikhs. Britain is bound by Attlee's declaration: no minority, not even this impressive Moslem minority, can be allowed to obstruct India's road to freedom. That should be its guiding principle. But it would be folly to suppose that the normal rules of democracy can work in this situation without a gen-



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Peace, It's Difficult!

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erous disposition to compromise. The Hindu-Moslem feud was largely created by Tory policy; but it is now a hard fact, cemented by Jinnah's appeal to fanaticism. The lesser of his "two nations" will not bow to majority rule. Within reasonable limits there must be conciliation.

What Congress Can Do

It was difficult for Congress to make concessions as long as it was being pressed by British ministers and the Viceroy to do so. It went a long way under their persuasion, but all the negotiations were dogged by memories of the past, when the British conqueror ruled by dividing. Throw the whole responsibility unreservedly on Congress itself and it may rise to the height of this great argument. It believes that the Moslems are its brothers, linked to it by the ties of nationality. Its main task must be, then, to win their confidence and awaken in them a sense of India's unity.

In some form it will have to concede the substance of Pakistan. This idea was repugnant because it came draped in a reactionary commercial ideology. But there is much to be said for a grouping of certain provinces on a geographical footing. Quite apart from the fact that the northwestern provinces and states (Group 8) are predominantly Moslem, they form a natural geographical unit. Their economic life depends absolutely on the five great rivers to which they owe their fertility. If I may venture on a suggestion, it is that Congress should go into the constituent assembly with the purpose of discovering positive and useful functions for a group organization in this region. These provinces ought to control their rivers in common, which means that they should together plan and execute their schemes for hydroelectricity, irrigation, settlement on the land and water transport. That would be an immense opportunity and it should benefit Hindus and Sikhs no less than Moslems. To satisfy the pride of the League, this group of provinces should enjoy some of the dignity and power of statehood—its own flag, for instance, and its own coinage. On its spiritual side, by all means let it foster Islamic culture, subject only to a rule of toleration and equal rights for all. For the northeastern group (C) much less can be urged and, if it should ever be formed, Assam, a mainly Hindu province, will certainly break it up by opting out of it.

In some such way Congress may be able to win over the League to a measure of collaboration. If it were to offer its positive help in building up a Pakistan group in the Northwest, would Jinnah in his turn enlarge the functions of the Indian Union? At the least, it ought to have customs under its charge as well as defense, foreign policy and communications. But it would be pedantic at this stage to dwell on details. No constitution will work in India and no enduring constitution can be devised until the leaders of Congress can transform the atmosphere of today and win the trust of the Moslems. They might, for example, offer Jinnah the presidency of the constituent assembly. This aging man is ambitious. If he really desires a settlement, could he win a greater place than this, in history? A crown of glory will go to the architect of India's peace.

The GI Housing Gyp

by Alan Hathway

On the night of August 7, five men, some accompanied by their wives, pushed into the steamy meeting room of the Mineola Village Board in Nassau County, which rubs elbows with New York City on the Queens line. They had a complaint, which they stated simply. Their almost new houses were falling apart.

Within 24 hours the Mineola post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars had blasted the officials and the builders with a public statement. Within a week the county VFW had inspected 11 other developments and found them all bad. The state organization alerted every post in New York's 62 counties with a charge that an "unholy alliance" existed between contractors and politicians and that a scandal "amounting to plain, unadulterated swindling" had to be stamped out. The state unit is going to drop the complaints into the hands of the national VFW convention in Boston next week. Meanwhile a congressional investigation is in the offing, with wheels already in motion to bring it about. Ex-GI Joe is seething.

The most distressing part of the picture of our veterans signing their lives away to buy homes that will probably drop to two-thirds or half the purchase price in value is that much of the trouble is avoidable. Joe knows that he can't blame the builder for using green lumber, if there are no kiln-dried sheathing, floor beams or flooring to be had. He grumbles when he has to pay $10,000 for a five-room bungalow that brought about $4,000 six years ago. But he takes all that as an inevitable burden. What makes him really mad—at least what blew off the top in Nassau—are the twin

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realizations that the builder is throwing his soap box together with no apparent interest in whether it stays together and that no veterans' agency or other governmental body seems to have any authority or desire to protect him.

Here are some of the faults in his home listed by State VFW Commander C. Burton Huse of Ogdensburg:

> Roof and side of house separating, cellar walls filled with sand, windows with only one sash weight, attached garage not fireproofed, poorly constructed fireplaces, sagging floors, kitchen floors not strong enough to support a refrigerator, cracked and falling plaster, oil burners without gauges, incomplete painting.

Perhaps the payoff in Mineola was a certificate of plumbing compliance, duly signed by a village plumbing inspector, which set forth as an official document that he had personally inspected and witnessed tests which included connecting the soil line to the sewer. It turned out that there was not even a sewer in the street near the home.

When the five GI's complained to their village government, they met a complete lack of interest.

"It is really none of our business," Mayor Joseph Nohowec told James P. Jones, spokesman for the boys. "We can't pull your chestnuts out of the fire now. It's too late."

Though the village fathers seemed content to let the matter lie, they were finally needled into making an inspection two days later. The good mayor declined to permit representatives of either the VFW or the press to accompany his tour of investigation. His findings: "A few little repairs necessary, but no blame is attached to the building inspector."

The Veterans Go to Bat for Themselves

The VFW and the Nassau Independent Voters' Association, a new political group which draws heavily from ex-GI's, then went to work. Louis Guarino, commander of the Mineola veterans' post, made contact with his county group and started civil actions against all persons involved. Roger Brown, the county commander, appointed a committee of building experts to start inspection of every GI housing development in this county of approximately half a million inhabitants. John Maguire, the district commander, got the state organization interested.

Our newspaper, *Newsday*, made a campaign of it, carrying stories every day—a full-page picture spread of building-code violations and shoddy workmanship in the Mineola houses, and a two-page spread (we are tabloid size) of photos showing the findings of the county-wide inspection. Every development showed workmanship that was inexcusably bad.

The NIVA communicated with the Veterans' Administration, the State Veterans' Agency and the County Veterans' Agency (which works closely with the state) and found that apparently there wasn't anybody who could help these boys. No one had any jurisdiction or authority. It was just too bad.

The Federal Housing Administration did point out that these homes, like half a million more now under construction over the nation, were planned, and priorities granted, before June 10, at which time Wilson Wyatt, National Housing Expeditor, issued regulations requiring two FHA progress inspections on GI housing. Homes similarly built in the future, the FHA said, will be so protected.

Make the Federal Agencies Responsible

Up to a point, that is good. But there is a catch. In fact, two of them.

The first is that the mandatory FHA supervision is only effective if a builder has asked for priorities to build speculatively and to sell with a preference to GI's. All he has to do to duck the regulation, the FHA told us, is to sell the GI from plans and enter into a contract to build directly for one particular GI. The inspections are not required then unless the GI demands them.

"Houses are tough to get, Bud. Builders are busy. You wouldn't want a builder to put up with unnecessary restrictions. There is probably some other GI who might not be quite so fussy."

In other words, the ex-GI is still over a barrel. In fact, the extent to which he continues to be so is evidenced by a statement Thomas G. Grace, New York State Director of the FHA, made to us this week.

"Less than 10 percent of today's GI home buyers are purchasing houses under the new 88 series of permits," he said. The 88's are the priority permits requiring FHA inspection.

And what if Joe insists upon an 88-series permit and the builder puts up with it? The New York District Office of the FHA, covering 14 counties and maybe 10 million population, has a grand total of 15 inspectors. Needle in a haystack, more or less.

So that is what the GI is facing. At best he can have a house that may depreciate as much as 50 percent in value in the next five years. At worst it may fall down around his ears before the plaster is thoroughly dry.

And if he walks out on it, he may get stuck with a deficiency judgment for the difference between what a foreclosure sale will bring and the total amount of the loan.

He needs a lot more protection than he is getting. And it will be forthcoming, if such veterans' organizations as the VFW and the American Veterans' Committee (which is active in the situation, working largely through other groups) have anything to say about it. These organizations want the proper federal agencies to be fully responsible and required to inspect anything that GI Joe buys.

They want an end to Operation Gyp.

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The Bandwagon

LYNCHING PROTESTS SHOW RISING TOLERANCE – *Headline in the San Diego* Journal.

A Santa Barbara unit of the National Home and Property Owners' Foundation, described by its proponents as "a union of home and property owners, who are the real Americans because they own America," was formed last night at a meeting of 200 persons. . . . – *From the Santa Barbara* News.

Look Away, Look Away

While in Hitler's quarters on the top of the mountain, Senator Ellender [D, La.] was surprised to hear himself paged. His name was being called to receive a cablegram from Senator Overton [D, La.] urging him to get back at once to vote on poll-tax cloture. – *From the* Times-Picayune New Orleans States.

Art for Art's Sake

But while Mr. Maugham's outlay, save for his time and expenses of travel, was a few dollars for ink and paper, Mr. Zanuck's, in 99 days of shooting just completed, reaches $3,000,000, involving the labors of some 4,000 people and raising the value of each foot of film (which cost only four cents unused) to $250. – *From* Life.

Tel-Aviv Papers Please Copy

In reply to press attacks that his selective theories are racial and that he is anti-Semitic, Dr. Peralta [director of Argentine Immigration] said: "I have just allowed 5,000 Arabs from Syria, North Africa and Arabia to settle in Argentina, which shows my firm conviction that the Semites are good as basic colonists." – *UP dispatch from Buenos Aires.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Fraternal Barriers

SIR: Through the efforts of the Interfraternity Council, general Greek Letter fraternities and sororities are hopeful to secure tax exemption for themselves on the grounds that they are educational in nature. The Council is now trying to gather statements from college and university administrators to the effect that the fraternity system is a vital part of an educational institution. If the response is favorable enough, they will use it to back their arguments in Congress when the matter comes up for vote.

I maintain that, except for Phi Beta Kappa and a few other honorary groups, fraternal societies are not educational, but social, in purpose. That they are primarily social is not difficult to prove. For example, one has only to look at the January issue of the *Quill* of Alpha Xi Delta. In it the national president of the sorority informs its members that one chapter has pledged and is trying to initiate a Negro girl. The president asks for the opinion of all the active and alumnae chapters as to whether this one chapter shall be permitted to carry out its plan. She then proceeds to explain carefully to Alpha Xi Delta members that in casting their votes they should keep in mind the fact that they are not a social-reform group but primarily a *social* group joined together for social purposes for life. Thus instructed, the majority of Alpha Xi Delta's voted to discriminate against Negroes. The result was announced in March, and the National Council made a ruling accordingly. In addition, it suspended the chapter which had pledged a Negro for one year, during which time the Negro girl's pledge would expire.

Fraternities and sororities are not a vital part of our educational system in any sense of the word. They are a hindrance to it. They help spread racial, religious, social and economic prejudices in our high schools, colleges and universities. They are undemocratic in conception and practice and are a perpetual source of sorrow and evil in our times. They are a luxury, not an educational necessity. As such, they should be made to pay taxes along with all other similar organizations. What is more, they really should be abolished.

BLAIR HANSON
Assistant Professor of Romance Languages
Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.

Worse Than Labor Strikes

SIR: I have taken some news items and figures and written the enclosed, which I think should be given some publicity to offset the hatred of labor engendered by our controlled press.

Atlanta, Ga. O. D. SMALL

1. Whereas only one percent of workers were on strike during and since the war, 27 percent of the corporations assigned for war work refused government contracts until said contracts were on the manufacturers' terms.

2. The meat packers refused to conduct their business because the OPA would not grant their terms as to profits at a time when the number of cattle was the largest in the nation's history.

3. The shoe dealers and manufacturers protested against lifting of shoe-rationing until their shelves were emptied of non-rationed shoes.

4. Washing-machines and refrigerator manufacturers withheld delivery of their products for six months or more in expectation of a reduction in corporation tax and a breaking of the OPA at a time when their warehouses were filled with their manufactured articles.

5. The automobile manufacturers struck against the public, using the workers' strike as an excuse to withhold cars from the market until after the first of the year to keep from paying wartime taxes, and also in hope of breaking both OPA ceiling prices and the labor unions. The Brookings Institution has shown that new automobiles could, under certain conditions, be sold at half their present price, thus refuting the claim that a rise in wages would necessarily mean an increase in prices.

6. Labor was never guilty of crimes against its government such as were charged against some corporations; one manufacturer was found guilty of selling its government $6 million worth of defective copper wire, which may have meant death for thousands of our boys; another manufacturer sold the Navy ships that broke in two parts on the high seas.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Read Lewis, executive director of the Common Council for American Unity, 20 West Fortieth Street, New York 18, writes to tell us of the work the Council is doing. For 27 years it has helped immigrants to adjust to the United States, giving them information and assistance and trying to combat discrimination against racial and religious groups. With the use of immigration quotas to relieve suffering abroad, as President Truman recently directed, the Council looks forward to more work, and asks contributions from our readers.

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Books in Review

On the Nature of Things

ROBERT PENN WARREN's third novel[1] is in the tradition of many classics; while it deals with themes and characters that are not confined to its given time, its action is composed of Sunday-supplement history and melodrama. *All the King's Men* is at least the fourth novel to make use of the Huey Long story—it was preceded by Hamilton Basso's *Sun in Capricorn*, John Dos Passos' *Number One* and Adria Locke Langley's best-selling *A Lion Is in the Streets*—but the idealization of Long in the fictional Willie Stark is so complete that Warren can hardly mean his novel to be taken as literal history. And when it is said that the action revolves around the adulterous love of an aristocratic Southern girl for the wool-hat boy who became Governor of a state that in many ways physically and politically resembles Louisiana—when that girl's honor is avenged by her brother and when even a mid-Victorian mysterious parenthood is used to provide a major climax, it must be remembered that the great classic writers from the Greeks to Hemingway worked with no more inventive fables.

To reduce Warren's "plot" to its elements and at the same time avoid a dry absurdity is comparable to an attempt to suggest what "Hamlet" is "about" through a brief paraphrase. In his youth Jack Burden of Burden's Landing had been the friend of Adam and Anne Stanton, the children of Governor Stanton. There had been one summer when Jack and Anne had taken it for granted that they would marry—why they didn't is one of the reasons you will have to read *All the King's Men* practically word for word to find out. Years later Jack, having passed through the corruptions of the university, fruitless marriage and newspaper reporting, is the confidential adviser of Willie Stark, who had come down out of the hills to become Governor and overthrow what was left of the world and traditions of the Burdens and the Stantons. The day came when Jack Burden walked into Anne Stanton's room to ask if she and Willie—"Then I looked into her face. She met my gaze quite steadily. I did not say anything. And I did not need to. For, looking at me she slowly nodded." And inevitably Adam was told, and in the corridors of the monstrous capitol that Willie had built, Adam shot him down to be killed immediately by Willie's gunman.

THIS, with an Elizabethan prodigality of subplotting and an even older use of *in medias res* and the flashback, is the story Jack Burden is given to tell. For in the first place *All the King's Men* is a story, though it is also an excellent political novel, and a genuinely philosophical novel, accomplishments which are rare enough in the history of our fiction. But it is primarily a superbly written narrative in which the surface of the writing is brilliantly integrated with the character of the narrator and the nature of his experience. The touchstones of such writing in our literature are, of course, *Moby Dick* and *Huckleberry Finn*, and more recently *The Sun Also Rises* and *The Great Gatsby*. The single quality that encompasses these varied books is the use of the full resources of the American language to record with imagination and intelligence a significant aspect of our life. Warren's last novel, *At Heaven's Gate*, suggested that he was one of the few of our writers who knew enough, had thought enough and was blessed with the ability to express his knowledge and his thinking in a dramatic narrative, to produce the really big book *All the King's Men* has turned out to be.

THERE is one section of the novel that even a preliminary review—as distinguished from a considered criticism—of Warren's novel should attempt to explain. In the course of Jack Burden's work at the university he is given the diary and papers of an ancestor who had died in the Civil War. This Cass Mastern, who becomes the subject of Burden's unfinished doctoral dissertation, had drifted into a violent affair with the wife of a friend which ended with the suicide of the husband and the estrangement of the lovers. When, later, the truth of Burden's parentage is uncovered by his own second "job of historical research," after Willie Stark has ordered him to get something on a political rival, the immediate reason for the lengthy (and brilliantly contrived) Cass Mastern story is clear. But it is only upon looking at the novel as a whole that the full meaning of this "journey into the enchantments of the past" begins to take shape. For Warren is not only writing a novel about a group of people at a given time, he is reflecting upon the history of the race and attempting to arrive at a judgment of human action:

> This has been the story of Willie Stark, but it is my story, too. For I have a story. It is the story of a man who lived in the world and to him the world looked one way for a long time and then it looked another and very different way. The change did not happen all at once. Many things happened, and that man did not know when he had any responsibility for them and when he did not. There was, in fact, a time when he came to believe that nobody had any responsibility for anything and there was no god but the Great Twitch. . . .
>
> But later, much later, he woke up one morning to discover that he did not believe in the Great Twitch any more. He did not believe in it because he had seen too many people live and die. He had seen Lucy Stark and Sugar-Boy and the Scholarly Attorney and Sadie Burke and Anne Stanton live and the ways of their living had nothing to do with the Great Twitch. He had seen his father die. He had seen his friend Adam Stanton die. He had seen his friend Willie Stark die, and had heard him say with his last breath, "It might have been all different, Jack. You got to believe that."
>
> He had seen his two friends, Willie Stark and Adam Stanton, live and die. Each had killed the other. Each had been the doom of the other. As a student of history Jack Burden could see that Adam Stanton, whom he came to call the man of idea, and Willie Stark, whom he came to call the man of

[1] All the King's Men, by Robert Penn Warren. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 464 pages. $3.

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fact, were doomed to destroy each other, just as each was doomed to try and use the other and to yearn toward and try to become the other, because each was incomplete with the terrible division of their age. But at the same time Jack Burden came to see that his friends had been doomed, he saw that though doomed they had nothing to do with any doom under the godhead of the Great Twitch. They were doomed, but they lived in the agony of will.

This then is a story of some definable people in a certain time and place, and an inquiry into good and evil and the nature of things. All together it is the finest American novel in more years than one would like to have to remember.

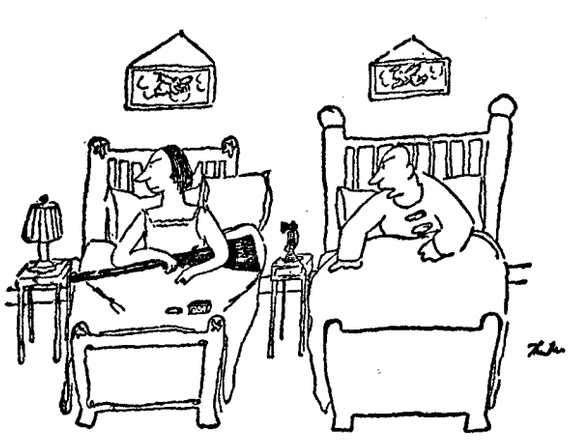
GEORGE MAYBERRY

Orwell's Fables

Animal Farm, by George Orwell. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 118 pages. $1.75.

GEORGE ORWELL in his critical writings shows imagination and taste; his wit is both edged and human. Few writers of any period have been able to use the English language so simply and accurately to say what they mean, and at the same time to mean something. The news that he had written a satirical allegory, telling the story of a revolution by farm animals against their cruel and dissolute master, and of their subsequent fortunes, was like the smell of a roast from a kitchen ruled by a good cook, near the end of a hungry morning. The further news that this book had been chosen and was being pushed by the Book of the Month Club, though it occasioned surprise, was pleasant because it seemed to herald one of those instances when unusual talent of the sort rarely popular receives recognition and a great tangible reward.

There are times when a reviewer is happy to report that a book is bad because it fulfills his hope that the author will expose himself in a way that permits a long deserved castigation. This is not one of them. I was expecting that Orwell would again give pleasure and that his satire of the sort of thing which democrats deplore in the Soviet Union would be keen and cleansing. Instead, the book puzzled and saddened me. It seemed on the whole dull. The allegory turned out to be a creaking machine for saying in a clumsy way things that have been said better directly. And many of the things said are not instantly recognized as the essence of truth, but are of the sort which start endless and boring controversy.



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"I tell you there isn't going to *be* any insurrection."

Orwell does know his farm animals and gives them vivid personalities. Many will recognize Benjamin, the donkey who never commits himself, never hurries and thinks that in the end nothing much matters. Mollie the saddle horse, who wanders from the puritanical path of the revolution to seek ribbons for her mane, the cat who never does any work, the hens who sabotage by laying their eggs in the rafters, Clover and Boxer, the powerful, trusting and honest draught horses, are all real enough. But these spontaneous creatures seem in action like circus animals performing mechanically to the crack of the story-teller's whip.

Part of the trouble lies in the fact that the story is too close to recent historical events without being close enough. Major, the aged pig who on his deathbed tells the animals of their oppression and prophesies revolution, must be Karl Marx. His two followers who lead the revolution, Napoleon and Snowball, are then readily identified as Lenin and Trotsky. This identification turns out to be correct in the case of Snowball, but the reader soon begins to puzzle over the fact that Napoleon disapproves the project of building a windmill—an obvious symbol for electrification and industrialization—whereas this was Lenin's program. The puzzlement is increased when Napoleon chases out Snowball as a traitor; it was Stalin who did this.

And so it goes through incident after incident. The young dogs are alone selected for schooling; later they appear as the secret police. Is this a picture of Soviet education? The pigs not only keep the best food for themselves, but also become drunkards, taking over the pasture reserved for retirement of the superannuated in order to raise the necessary barley. Of course prohibition was abolished early in the revolution, but have the leaders drunk too much and has social insurance been abolished? There is a pathetic incident when Boxer, the sturdy and loyal old work horse, is sent off to be slaughtered and turned into dog food and bone meal, under the pretext that he is being hospitalized. Just what part of Soviet history corresponds to this?

Nobody would suppose that good allegory is literally accurate, but when the reader is continually led to wonder who is who and what aspect of reality is being satirized, he is prevented either from enjoying the story as a story or from valuing it as a comment. Masters like Swift and Anatole France, with whom Orwell is compared in the blurbs, were not guilty of this fault. They told good stories, the interest of which did not lie wholly in their caricature. And their satire, however barbed, was not dependent on identification of historical personages or specific events.

The thoughtful reader must be further disturbed by the lack of clarity in the main intention of the author. Obviously he is convinced that the animals had just cause for revolt and that for a time their condition was improved under the new regime. But they are betrayed by their scoundrelly, piggish leaders. In the end, the pigs become indistinguishable from the men who run the other nearby farms; they walk on two legs, have double and triple chins, wear clothes and carry whips. *Animal Farm* reverts to the old Manor Farm in both name and reality.

No doubt this is what George Orwell thinks has happened in Russia. But if he wants to tell us why it happened, he has failed. Does he mean to say that not these pigs, but

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Snowball, should have been on top? Or that all the animals should have been merged in a common primitive communism without leaders or organization? Or that it was a mistake to try to industrialize, because pastoral simplicity is the condition of equality and coöperation? Or that, as in the old saw criticizing socialism, the possibility of a better society is a pipe-dream, because if property were distributed equally, the more clever and selfish would soon get a larger share and things would go on as of old? Though I am sure he did not intend this moral, the chances are that a sample poll of the book-club readers in the United States would indicate that a large majority think so and will heartily approve the book on that account.

There is no question that Orwell hates tyranny, sycophancy, deceitful propaganda, sheeplike acceptance of empty political formulas. His exposures of these detestable vices constitute the best passages in the book. There have been plenty of such abuses in Russia. They also crop up in other places. It is difficult to believe that they determined the whole issue of the Russian revolution, or that Russia is now just like every other nation. No doubt in some respects she is worse than most; in other respects she may be better.

It seems to me that the failure of this book (commercially it is already assured of tremendous success) arises from the fact that the satire deals not with something the author has experienced, but rather with stereotyped ideas about a country which he probably does not know very well. The plan for the allegory, which must have seemed a good one when he first thought of it, became mechanical in execution. It almost appears as if he had lost his zest before he got very far with the writing. He should try again, and this time on something nearer home. GEORGE SOULE

Reporter v. Editor

Tour of Duty, by John Dos Passos. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company. 336 pages. $3.

AMONG other things, John Dos Passos' *Tour of Duty* should prove quite a revelation to the voters of Texas. It may be recalled that in the recent Democratic primaries there the chief charge against Dr. Rainey, the liberal candidate for Governor, seemed to be that while president of the state university he had allowed a book called *U. S. A.* to be required reading in an English course. The impression somehow emerged that the real candidate was a wild-eyed Red known as Dos Passos, who, having corrupted the youth of the commonwealth by writing a licentious novel, was continuing the work of Moscow by scheming to make Texas a component part of the Soviet Union. *Tour of Duty* certainly doesn't give this impression. Indeed, its passages on the Russians have a way of sounding as if they might have been written by a man who suspected that the Bolsheviks did have some designs on Texas.

It is not, however, until the last of the book's three sections that Dos Passos begins to wince at the thought of Moscow. The blurb writer insists that the author "is not presenting a personal point of view" in this account of his wartime travels and that "he preaches no sermons." In the chapters dealing with the Pacific bases and the Philippines, this is entirely correct. *Tour of Duty* captures through straightforward reporting of what Dos Passos saw and heard a remarkable impression of the tremendous feat of organization and construction that marked the American Navy's dash across the Pacific and of the heroism and human misery that went side by side in the reconquest of the Philippines. John Dos Passos is a keen and sensitive observer and there has been no finer account of the wartime spirit of a citizen soldiery than that offered by these two parts of his report.

Once the traveler has moved on to Europe, though, the entire atmosphere changes. Of course, it is true that the war is over and the author is dealing with the gloomy aftermath of victory, with the collapse of the Spartan virtues, the inevitable emotional letdown and the inescapable knowledge that the dream of a brave new world was tragically superior to the reality. The shift in quality goes deeper than this. Dos Passos writes just as sensitively, just as eloquently as he did when contemplating combat in the Pacific, and the air of disillusioned sadness adds a new and moving quality to what he has to say. His reporting, too, remains as skillful as ever, and in this respect all his work stands high. Taking it literally, it can even be said that the absence of a sermon or of a personal point of view, so proudly noted by the blurb writer, continues to hold true, as does the blurb's added point that the author "is observing and reporting. Those on the spot do the talking. Their dialogue emerges with a seeming stenographic quality." Nevertheless, something new and chilling has been added. The Russians have arrived.

Dos Passos continues to "observe and report," to "preach no sermons," to "let those on the spot do the talking." But where, in the chapters on the Pacific, he gives the impression that his reporting, his observation and his cast of characters are objective and real, they seem, once he has reached Europe, fabricated and organized to meet a point of view. That is not to deny the disillusionment of the Americans, the painful conduct of the Russians, the superciliousness of the British or the vengefulness and hypocrisy that are to be found in our postwar treatment of the Germans. It is merely to suggest that while he seemed a reporter in the Pacific, Dos Passos seems an editorial writer disguised as a reporter in Vienna and Nuremberg.

There is, for example, a very one-sided debate on the Soviet Union between "a man of fifty and a man of twenty-five, both wearing the same khaki," in which the youthful advocate of the Russians receives a pretty complete thrashing. I certainly do not doubt that the argument took place, with the result as noted. By reporting it Dos Passos lives up to the billing that he "lets those on the spot do the talking." But I wonder if he merely overheard it. Isn't he the triumphant older man in the story? Isn't that rather "presenting a personal point of view"? Then there is that old story about the non-smiling Russians again. You know —"There was every type of face, but not a smile." There is the report on "What the Russians call war criminals," with the explanation that they are usually "merely political opponents of the regime," a defense such gentlemen as Laval and Quisling found to their liking. There is the frequently expressed belief that we should stop "appeasing" the Russians, which, if Dos Passos will forgive me, is most constantly used by editorial writers who didn't mind appeasement when it had to do with the Germans. Finally,

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there is the scorn for the "type of official who made a sort of specialty of getting along with the Russians." Somehow, at this point, it is not difficult to believe that a number of the chapters appeared first in *Life* and the *New Leader*.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

Bearding FDR

American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940: A Study in Responsibilities, by Charles A. Beard. New Haven: The Yale University Press. 323 pages. $4.

THE MAKING of foreign policy puts the American governing process to its sternest test. The federal system and the separation of vaguely defined powers between Congress and President encourage the strong expression of hostile views without providing means for reconciling these views in a way that will bring forth a foreign policy adequate to our needs. In spite of the present national tendency to support the Administration's active policy of entanglement in European and Asiatic affairs through participation in the United Nations and maintenance of our occupations of Germany and Japan, the United States stands forever in danger that, until a full-blown crisis is actually upon us, we shall confront developing international problems simply by doing nothing. The opposing interests of segments of the vast population, which different members of Congress sensitively reflect, cancel out one another and, when they differ, the interests of Congress and President tend to neutralize one another.

The major question that arises from this set of conflicts concerns the role of the President. Is it his task to run contrary to the course plotted for the country as a result of compromise between him and Congress when he thinks that only the contrary course will save us? Is he follower or leader? Should he assume that what the majority of the public wants—as best that majority will can be determined—is the right thing to want? Should he assume rather that his own conception of national need in foreign policy is correct when it differs from the majority public desire? Should he then bend policy to suit that conception without telling the public what he is up to? Or should he try to modify policy only after he has given the public all the information that is available to him and after he has explained in full the nature of his own views (actions that might cause the public not to support but vigorously to oppose what the President has in mind)? The attempt to answer that series of questions fascinates the student of the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Sometime between 1932 and 1940 the late President broke loose from the congressional and the majority view that the United States could best safeguard itself by following a dispassionate neutrality toward all the participants in foreign wars. He developed instead a policy based on the desirability of assisting one set of belligerents at the expense of another set.

Dr. Beard in this book begins to explore that series of questions as they relate to Roosevelt. The work itself is disappointing because Beard the historian has not plumbed the matter as deeply as available information would permit, and because Beard the commentator, who in the past did not hesitate to state forthrightly his isolationist views, does not offer conclusions that make clear his purpose in writing the book.

Beard excites us in the earlier chapters by arousing the expectation that he is going to expose the roots of responsibility in the conduct of American foreign policy. His aim there seems to be to defend the "American people" from the charge often leveled against them that they are responsible for the outbreak of World War II—in that they did not insist in 1919 that the Senate approve the Versailles Treaty and League membership, did not oppose the Fordney-McCumber and Smoot-Hawley tariff laws and did not call for a revision of the Neutrality Acts of the 1930's, when relations of the European powers deteriorated and brought their continent to the verge of war. A first-rate inquiry into the place of American people, Congress and President in the events leading up to the German attack on Poland in 1939 and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 is absolutely necessary if we are going to understand how to fashion foreign policy in the future. Instead of giving us that inquiry, Beard, after posing the question of popular responsibility, tries to answer the question by reciting selected public statements made by President Roosevelt and members of Congress from 1932 to 1940. The volume reminds us of what we knew before—that Roosevelt the foreign-policy maker seems to have been a dissembler in his relations with the public—but it does not give clear answers to two questions which Dr. Beard's publishers ask on the flyleaf: "What bearing do official and campaign pronouncements of foreign policy have on the actual conduct of foreign affairs? How far is popular control over foreign policy or popular participation in its making feasible or desirable in the contemporary world?" Perhaps Beard intends to use the papers he presents here, as well as other documents and studies, as a basis for a greater work. We hope so.

The problem to which Beard primarily addresses himself is whether Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, as they moved away from their seeming acceptance of American isolationism in the early 1930's, adequately presented "to the country their . . . outline of a foreign policy adverse to isolation, neutrality and peace or the United States." That sentence alone is vicious, for it suggests that in any policy other than isolated neutrality, peace was not to be had. It is true that Roosevelt and Hull before 1941 in no public statement set forth the case for abandonment of isolationism so baldly as the State Department put it in 1943 in the publication *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941*, from which Beard quotes: "During a large part of the period with which this volume deals, much of public opinion in this country did not accept the thesis that a European war could vitally affect the security of the United States or that an attack on the United States by any of the Axis powers was possible. In this respect it differed from the President and the Secretary of State, who early became convinced that the aggressive policies of the Axis powers were directed toward an ultimate attack on the United States and that, therefore, our foreign relations should be so conducted as to give all possible support to the nations endeavoring to check the march of Axis aggression."

Yet neither Dr. Beard nor anybody else can fix responsibility for the consequences of American foreign policy from

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1932 to 1940 by simply quoting from the record. Certainly it cannot be fixed if the record is incompletely quoted. Beard has a paragraph intending to show that Roosevelt without protest swallowed the Neutrality Act of 1935, a landmark of the early period when Beard reports that Roosevelt was "hewing to the isolationist line." Yet he does not report that in signing the Act Roosevelt wrote that its feature of an inflexible arms embargo "might drag us into war instead of keeping us out." Nor does he report that Roosevelt sought publicly to turn American opinion against Hitler in April, 1939—four and one-half months before Germany invaded Poland—by suggesting that Germany agree with the United States to keep the peace for 25 years, an agreement Hitler would not support. Nor does he report that four years before the publication of *Peace and War*, Roosevelt criticized his own action in having signed the 1935 Neutrality Act. On September 21, 1939, he said: "I regret that Congress passed that Act. I regret equally that I signed that Act."

Beard does not get to the root of the presidential problem by inquiring whether Roosevelt felt that he had to seem to accept isolationism in order to hold the affections of Congress for his domestic legislative program. But although Dr. Beard examines only sketchily the general problem of responsibility that he poses, he has done a service by posing it only if he can persuade himself or some other historian to examine it fully, not just by searching out the public record but by analyzing the political problem of the presidency in 1933-1940, and by exploring the nature of Roosevelt himself.

BLAIR BOLLES

Architect's Dream

Housing and Citizenship: A Study of Low-Cost Housing, by George Herbert Gray. New York: Reinhold Publishing Company. 254 pages. $7.50.

MAJOR GRAY'S discussion of America's low-cost housing problem is unquestionably an important one and, in spite of a prolix style and a somewhat disorganized arrangement of topics, is interesting reading. His attitude is that of the enlightened architect who is aware that good citizenship depends largely on a decent environment. He knows that average incomes are much too low to take a family out of the slums and to foster the kind of social traits that make for wholesome living. The burden of slums, he emphasizes, falls on all of us: we eventually pay for a larger police force and faster fire engines. And the cost in broken lives and twisted human relations cannot be reckoned.

It ought to be possible, says the author, to recapture those values which preserve the sense of responsibility of man to his fellow men. Yet urban compression in block after block of rotten buildings is hardly calculated to make people develop a feeling of group responsibility. When home relief, crime, delinquency and tuberculosis are their daily experience, slum dwellers aren't likely to become communal-minded. But all that is needed in most cases is a chance to see the sun.

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New Republic News 270

Major Gray makes his meaning quite clear: a comprehensive housing program means federal subsidies to eliminate blighted urban areas and it means careful planning of neighborhoods. It means larger blocks, off-street parking, shallow lots and radial thoroughfares. It means recreation space for adults and children, provisions for schools, convenient store centers and good transportation facilities. And above all it means reducing the cost of constructing homes for those who earn less than $2,000 a year. New materials and new techniques for assembling them, reductions in the cost of borrowing money and changes in the design of housing projects will permit the kind of economies that bring decent homes within the earning capacity of the people.

It is in the field of design that Major Gray is at his best. He is severely critical of the criteria employed by public housing in this country and shows how our approach "bears the stamp of parsimony, in which standardization results in monotony, in designs which are devoid of that certain vital quality of atmosphere which can be had only by a balance of proportion in mass, line, texture and color." The evidence, which consists of many detailed photographic and chart studies of low-cost housing projects here and in Europe, effectively supports his contention. The chief defect of our homes, the author argues, has been the attempt to enforce a uniform pattern. Housing, he justifiably remarks, should be based on an intensive study of the people to be housed. If that is not done, if we fail to build a new community in each neighborhood, then we have only prepared the ground for future slums.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

New Republic News

Letters to the *New Republic* Editors which begin, "SIR: Do you realize that in your August 26 issue you failed to . . ." or, "Dear Bill, where in God's name is that manuscript I sent you two weeks ago," get answered promptly, or at least fairly promptly.

The letters which get shoved into the stack of magazines, newspaper clips, press releases and last month's bank statements are the human, plaintive ones. These are labeled: Letters We Ought to Have Answered Before But Has Anybody Got a Good Idea About What to Say?

Number one in the current pile begins, "Dear Benedict Arnold." It's from the man who wrote in to have his address changed, and called his wife rattlebrained in an unguarded moment (*NR* News, July 29). Now he tells us that ever since she found out about it, home has been hell.

Another comes from a man who says he noticed several years ago that we didn't seem to be upholding the Constitution (capitalization his). He wrote to us then, and we sent him a nice reply. But now we seem to him to be upholding the Constitution even less, and what about it?

The third comes from California and tells about the trouble a subscriber is having in getting delivery on a new Mercury convertible. Couldn't we expose the car dealers who take down payments on new cars and hold up delivery? (Maybe we can and shall.) How can we help him get his convertible?

Having tried unsuccessfully for the past ten years to scrape together the down payment on a second-hand Chevrolet, we're completely barren of ideas. We're passing his letter on to Ralph Martin, though, for he's riding around the West in a new Plymouth he managed to get through some legitimate, but obscure, channel.

• • •

Blair Bolles, director of the Washington Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association, was for some years on the staff of the Washington *Star*, specializing in foreign affairs. He is co-author, with Duncan Aikman, of *America's Chance at Peace*, and author of "Roosevelt's Foreign Policy (1933-1945)," Foreign Policy Report, August 1, 1945, and of a forthcoming volume in the Foreign Policy Association Headline Series, "Who Makes Our Foreign Policy?"

Ben B. Seligman has been a commodity analyst for the OPA and managing editor of *Labor and Nation*.

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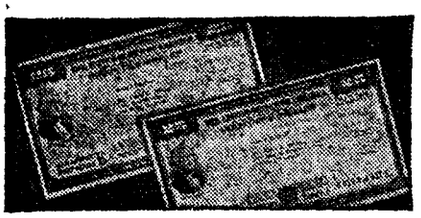

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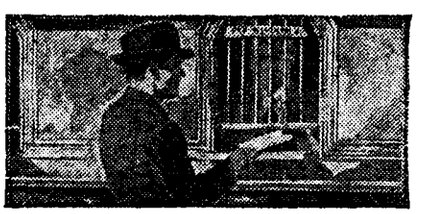

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